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TARIFF WALLS

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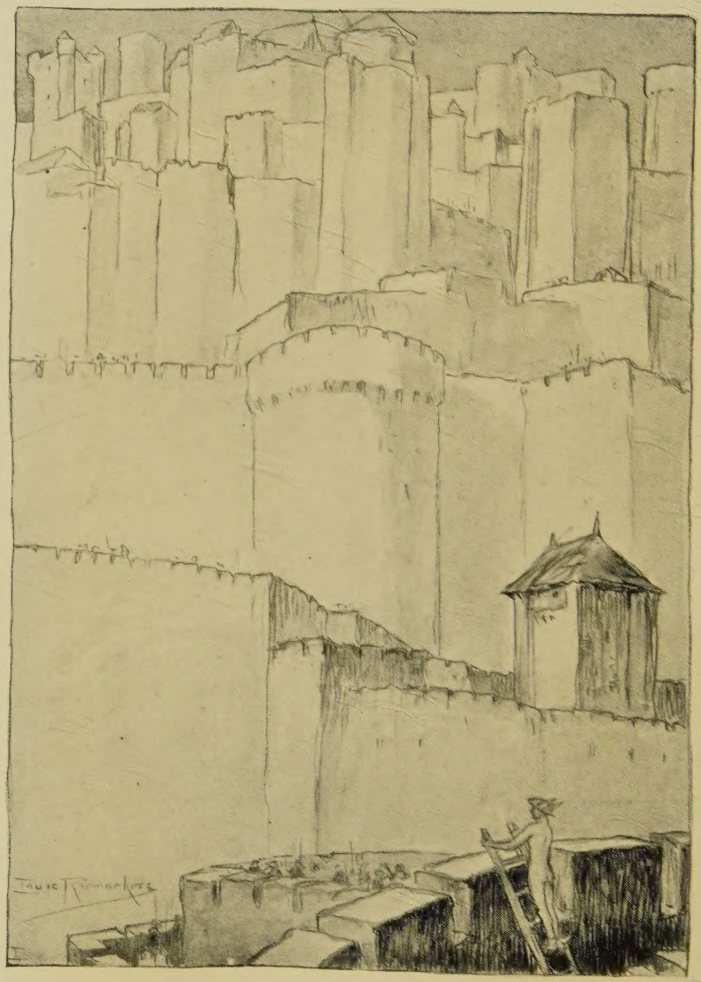

DE TARIEFMUREN IN EUROPA

A cartoon by the celebrated Dutch artist, Louis Raemaekers, during the Geneva Economic Conference, 1927

[*Frontispiece*

TARIFF WALLS

A EUROPEAN CRUSADE

BY SIR CLIVE MORRISON-BELL, Bart.
MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT FOR HONITON

WITH A PREFACE BY
VISCOUNT D'ABERNON, G.C.B., G.C.M.G.

LONDON
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET, W

First Edition . . . 1930

TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

MONTAGU C. NORMAN, D.S.O.

GOVERNOR OF THE BANK OF ENGLAND

WHO GAVE THE MAP ITS

FIRST CHANCE

PREFACE

By Viscount D'Abernon

Sir Clive Morrison-Bell has achieved the impossible, for he has produced a visible picture of European trade conditions in such form that it appears to meet with the approval both of Protectionists and Free-Traders. Not that either group is satisfied with the present condition, but each believes that the best way to attain its ideal is to present a clear picture of the existent. That task Sir Clive has performed with ingenuity and complete impartiality. It might be urged that the result of his impartiality makes a poor picture, in that the existent is far removed from the ideal. But that must be attributed to facts as they are, and not to the author of this interesting book. Tariffs are not only high but they tend steadily to increase. They are usually imposed on no clear theoretical principle but merely to eke out budget resources or to prop up some more or less inefficient industry. They are applied, in defiance

both of justice and of expediency in negotiation, to good and bad alike; to countries which admit goods free and to countries which do their best to exclude everything foreign. They are so little framed with a clear adherence to policy that any general principle proclaimed is infringed as soon as stated.

The Map of Europe which Sir Clive has constructed for the purposes of the campaign which he has been carrying on with so much persistence and courage for the last three years is at once picturesque and informing. It resembles nothing so much as a group of mediæval fortified camps designed to impede progress. Each small area is divided from the next by physical "chevaux de frise," an arrangement which must give the extra-European mind—accustomed to vast spaces—an impression that belligerent ants have been in charge. The obstacles erected may enhance the artistic interest of the Map, but they are disastrous to European commerce and fatal both to economic production and to the interests of the consumer.

Everyone who has been engaged for the last twenty-five years in the controversy between Protection and Free Trade must

desire—next to the triumph of his own panacea—some new solution. But a new solution requires a fresh mind, and a fresh mind requires material to work upon. This is provided by the Map, which may be exercising no little influence on European public opinion—a goal that it was originally designed to reach. If a study of it convinces ingenious and inventive readers that old remedies are either ineffective or unattainable, that no real progress is being achieved—since pious resolutions by distinguished Economists at Geneva are followed by no perceptible effect on the minds of statesmen or on the action of Legislatures—this book will certainly not have been written in vain. It will be clear that some new solution must be sought.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

THE Tariff Walls of Europe would not at first sight appear likely to make a good subject for a book. Tariffs, trade returns, schedules, statistics, exports and imports, all these matters are extremely important, but at the same time very difficult and depressing, and a conversation over-prolonged about any one of them would be very apt to lose you your best friend. The whole question to the ordinary reader is of the kind that repels rather than attracts; the majority of people are quite ready to leave it to the economists, and so it might well appear rash to run counter to this generally accepted opinion. And yet it is not the kind of question that can with safety be ignored. The late War has brought about so many changes in the general outlook on public and political questions that it is a mere truism to say that the whole mentality of Europe has completely changed. Wars for one thing are no longer fashionable. It is

certain that Europe or rather European statesmen would go to previously un-dreamt-of lengths to avoid their countries being plunged again into the horrors of fifteen years ago. Modern wars will be commercial wars, and international trade and markets will be the weapons. The entire population of a country will become the cannon-fodder in this new kind of warfare, in which the working classes especially would be always in the front line trenches, and only the rich or super-rich in a position to occupy the back areas. Many will say with a shrug that they do not wish to be involved in these squabbles, and that they are not interested. But that will not help them; they will find themselves involved whether they wish it or no; consequently a slight interest in this whole series of problems will not be out of place.

As a preliminary study, and I underline the word "preliminary," for it does not pretend to carry the question very far, I can recommend the simple system I have adopted, namely of bringing out the principal features on a Map. It visualizes the problem in Europe, it is quick and effortless, and can surely be claimed as a step in the right direction in spreading the light. Anyhow, in the course of the last three years, during

which I have been carrying on a campaign—"a sort of war," to use an almost forgotten phrase—against the tariff barriers in Europe, I have discovered that this method of treating the subject attracts rather than repels the student, and leaves a picture on his mind that does not quickly fade. But a book is quite a different proposition, and it is a book on these tariff walls that I have been advised to write by a friend, in whose judgment I can have the greatest confidence. It was of no use my repeating that such a subject could not be made interesting, that, anyhow, I could not write a book, and that if I did, no one would want to read it. My friend would take no denial. "It is not so much tariffs that you need write about, but your presentation of them and your adventures and activities, your crusade generally. There is a lot of good stuff in these letters and papers that you have been showing me." His enthusiasm was infectious, as is the spirit of his widely-read articles, and before leaving I had more or less promised that within the month I would at least sit down and see if I could make a start. The month will be up to-morrow afternoon, which is why I am struggling along to-night.

And certainly to myself the story has been

interesting enough even if I fail, as I very likely shall, to make it so to others. For what private Member, an undistinguished back-bencher to boot, has ever before been on a sort of crusade throughout Europe, displaying his wares, not in the high-ways and by-ways—though I hope that this may soon come, for then it can be claimed that the question is really moving—but in Houses of Parliament, Government Offices, chambers of commerce of the different countries visited, not to mention International Congresses, and, by this means, coming into fleeting contact with so many of those engaged in the reconstruction of post-War Europe ?

It is said, and rightly too, that our unemployment question must be fought on many fronts. Well, there is one, and a not unimportant one, that must not be overlooked in this fight, the European front. For in all these countries, high barriers have been erected against the entry of our goods. The result of this must be that to some extent, difficult to actually define, our exports find it harder to get in, and in this way our working-class population is proportionately prejudiced. If these barriers were lowered, this country would do more business with European countries, export more ; and there

would be more jobs going for our working men and working women here at home. It is good policy, therefore, to attack the barriers, or tariff walls as I have called them. The argument seems logical and conclusive.

It is always being said that England's chief markets are to be found amongst the Dominions and Colonies, which are included in the term "British Empire." That is, of course, quite true, and nobody can be more convinced on this point than I am. When I am sometimes asked—almost criticized in fact—Why do you not work for the increase of imperial trade, why bother about Europe? I feel, as a life-long Imperialist, that I have a perfectly good reply. The governments of every country under the Union Jack are working for these great ends, every party in every State is convinced of its wisdom, practically every journal published is advocating the imperial policy. Then surely the activities of one private individual will not be missed if he leaves the ranks of this great army temporarily, and turns to the problem of the European markets, where there is so much to hold and so much more to win. For the last three years I have been what I might call "seconded" from the Imperial movement,

though I cannot believe that my absence, or my presence, can make the smallest particle of difference, one way or the other.

It may seem to some that the word "campaign" is hardly justified, for with that word is associated the idea of large conferences, numerous delegates, a still more numerous retinue, committees and a prolonged bout of speechmaking. I have attended, unofficially, a fair number of these conferences, I have seen the general lassitude that gradually creeps over the attending delegates, who seem quite unable to cope with all the speeches and the mass of literature with which they are plied. I have watched how a question is bandied about between various committees, none of which seem to be able to do more than pass a resolution that the matter shall be referred to a sub-committee, and so on, and I begin to wonder whether these lengthy pre-War methods are going to suffice in this new era of hustle, and how far all the great expenditure of time and money can be justified. To get a subject under weigh, are all these cumbrous processes really necessary, or is there not some simpler post-War method of attaining this object, and short-circuiting half this talk ?

In one sense, the Map or Model seems to

suggest a line of country which might be developed in many a direction, and perhaps I have unconsciously done something which will earn me the gratitude of many of those hard-working and conscientious delegates who have yawned their way through the latter stages of a three weeks' conference. But I should, I know, avoid becoming controversial, so I will proceed without delay to ring up the curtain on my Map of the European Tariff Walls and its many interesting adventures.

CHAPTER II

HOW THE IDEA CAME

FREQUENTLY during the last three years when the Model of the Tariff Walls has been on exhibition somewhere I have been asked, "What originally gave you the idea?" The reply to this question seems to be a good point to start from. I was reading one day—it was about the beginning of February 1926—some articles in the Commercial Supplement of *The Times* on the post-War European situation. Among these was one particularly arresting article dealing with the customs barriers raised against international trade since the conclusion of the War. It interested me so much that I put it on one side with the idea of reading it through again that evening when I went to bed. Now as everybody knows, if your brain gets very interested in any subject late at night, it is very hard to get to sleep, and that is just what happened. For many an hour sleep refused to come, but gradually the idea did that a map with all these barriers

shown as little walls running along the frontier of each country would make an extremely interesting object. For the situation in post-War Europe as described in *The Times* article seemed fantastic and impossible ; if the picture was not exaggerated, it almost looked as if certain countries were slowly committing suicide, and one country could not go under, the article implied, without the remainder being dragged down too. Europe in this sense was one large community, the members of which would sink or swim together. How would England fare if some commercial or financial catastrophe on the Continent occurred ? Would she escape, or would she be involved too ? It looked as if something ought to be done about it, but the question was, What ? How could European public opinion, if such a thing exists, be reached ? There was little to be gained from writing articles which no one certainly would bother to read, and still less from speechifying. Conferences and congresses made a temporary ripple, but then seemed to fade away. Would not a more effective line of attack be to display, to show these harmful trade barriers, visualize them, so that they could be seen and studied by plain ordinary people, who hitherto had

been more than content to leave these matters to their rulers or politicians. If something of this sort could be done, then surely common sense might be counted on to make its influence felt. This more or less gives the sequence of ideas, and from that moment the foundations of the walls may be said to have been laid.

As a preliminary, I thought I would like to get into touch with the writer of the article, and this was kindly arranged by Mr. Geoffrey Dawson, the distinguished Editor of *The Times*. Obviously the first step was to set to work and collect some statistics relative to the whole problem and to this method of showing it. Looking back now, I can see how very amateurish in those early days my efforts were, but one had to grope about as best one could. Of course, I could get figures, or *some* figures, at any rate, from the Board of Trade, and this I did to a certain extent. But I felt some hesitation in applying too often in that quarter; it did not seem fair, and as I was not going to run the risk of a rebuff, I limited myself to nine or ten articles, spread over the next three months. These included cotton piece-goods, tin-plates, pottery ware, boots, steel rails, heavy oil-engines, and glass.

For further figures I went on a voyage of discovery down Oxford Street, and got together, through the courtesy of the firms concerned, quite a little armoury of statistics showing the treatment their particular products received when passing through the various European customs houses. For instance, there was the Austin Motor Company with their well-known type of car, boots as exported by Messrs. Peal, statistics of actual goods despatched to foreign countries through Selfridge's Export Department, gramophones, books from Messrs. Bumpus, garments and dress materials from Messrs. Debenham's, Swan Fountain Pens, Kodaks, sewing machines, motor bicycles, and so on, a series of luxury or semi-luxury articles that were in contrast to the heavy industries, statistics of which I had received from the Board of Trade. This searching about amongst these various successful business houses, though not a very scientific method of procedure, perhaps, was a kind of jolly adventure, during which I learnt a great many strange things that are undreamt of by the majority of us, and though to the reader I may not have succeeded in making my daily tour sound very interesting, that is merely the fault of my description, for it

certainly was so. Other important statistical figures on which the Map is really based were to come later, but about this time I became aware of the Balfour Report on Trade and Commerce, which in its first volume had published some relative tables referring to several European countries. The Layton-Rist Report was still a sealed book, and it was only some months later that the recently appointed Preparatory Committee for the Economic Conference held its first sitting at Geneva, and made a start on the compilation of those comparative figures which form the standard authority throughout Europe for all this work.

An idea occurred to me about now that I might as well "date" my campaign in case anything ever came of it, and I employed the simple expedient of putting two or three questions in Parliament to the President of the Board of Trade. (The actual date was Tuesday, February 23rd, 1926.) My first question ran as follows :

"To ask the President of the Board of Trade, if he can state which two European countries have the highest customs tariff, and which two the lowest, excluding in either case Great Britain and Russia ; and if he can state, approximately or otherwise,

what the respective tariffs would be, expressed as percentages."

To this Mr. Arthur Michael Samuel, Secretary of the Department of Overseas Trade, replied :

" My hon. and gallant friend will find a note on the relative ad valorem incidence of Customs Tariffs as affecting British Trade on pages 542–5 of the volume entitled *Survey of Overseas Markets* which was published last year by the Committee on Trade and Industry. This note, however, deals only with the seven European countries which are of principal importance to our trade. I am afraid I could not undertake to extend the enquiry, since the labour and expense would be very heavy."

The next question (No. 29 on the Paper) ran as follows :

" To ask the President of the Board of Trade, if the countries of Latvia, Esthonia and Lithuania are in one customs union, or if they have separate tariffs ; and, if so, what is the nominal height, approximate or otherwise, of their respective tariffs."

To which Mr. Samuel replied :

" There is no customs union between Latvia, Esthonia and Lithuania. As regards

the second part of the question, I have no estimate, and here again the labour and expense involved in framing an estimate would be very considerable. I should, however, be happy to show my hon. and gallant friend copies of the tariffs of these countries, if that course would be of help to him."

The third question referred to Albania and Yugoslavia, and of course fared no better. I was not expecting to receive much information from this interrogation, but it served the innocent purpose of setting a kind of official date to the start of my activities, and I felt quite reassured that the replies could not have given the department concerned very much trouble to frame. The same cannot be said of many questions that are thoughtlessly put in Parliament by eager or very often quite indifferent seekers after knowledge ; it is almost criminal the amount of trouble that is often thrown on to a Department to furnish a reply that is sometimes not really wanted at all. I remember that afternoon when I was putting these questions, a colleague who was sitting behind me being very intrigued about them, for my usual ones at rare intervals would probably have something to do with agriculture, or be related to some question touching the

defensive forces. "What on earth are you asking all those questions for? Are you going shooting in Albania?" he asked, but I did not enlighten him, feeling that it would sound rather silly and improbable to explain.

Two months later, after some further work of a statistical nature, I put a tentative enquiry to Geneva, and though in one sense I again drew blank, I learnt for the first time of the existence of the Layton-Rist Report, which was going to prove of such value. Sir Eric Drummond wrote:

"In reply to your note of April 15th, I find that we have not up to the present published any comprehensive reports on the question of European tariffs. I understand that it is not unlikely that the Preparatory Committee for the Economic Conference which is meeting here next week, will include this subject in its programme of matters to be studied, and if so I might, before very long, be in a position to send you some material. In the meantime, I am told that there is some useful material in the Report of the Balfour Committee on Industry and Trade, which is no doubt known to you, and also in the Layton-Rist Report on the economic condition of Austria, of which I am enclosing you a copy."

Mr. Layton, one of the most distinguished economists of the day, and Monsieur Rist, a prominent French banker, had been collaborating in an enquiry on the economic relations of Austria with the Succession States carved out of the late Dual Empire, and they give in the course of their Report some interesting and authoritative figures which serve to indicate the height of the tariffs in these newly designed countries. These figures I made use of in my efforts to arrive at some sort of scale to which the walls could be cut.

It was not till the middle of June, however, that some provisional scale emerged from this prolonged survey, and this I did not feel justified in giving to Mr. Reynolds, who was standing by ready to cut out the Map for me, until I had had the figures "vetted." I submitted them accordingly to the Department of Overseas Trade, and to Geneva, and from both I received something that was in no way to be considered official, but was near enough to a certificate to encourage me to proceed. Not that either of these authorities would take any responsibility, and very naturally too, in regard to the compilation of the figures submitted, but it was consoling or rather heartening to hear that at least

they were not all hopelessly wrong. From one letter I extract the following sentence :

" Spain would appear to be fairly accurately represented in its position in the list, and as a matter of fact the list seems to represent as accurate a comparative positioning of the various countries as could be reached without the most exhaustive research."

And from the other :

" My impression is, however, that generally his figures are approximately of the right order of magnitude, though I am not clear whether in all cases recent changes in conventional rates have been taken into consideration."

To a student wandering about in a maze of figures, almost overwhelmed and a little disheartened by their complexity, these messages were rare and refreshing fruit, and I was able to get yet another slice of encouragement before actually laying down the keel, so to speak. I happened to run across Lord Burnham one afternoon on the cross-channel boat, and he told me he was on his way home from Geneva, where he had been presiding over a Conference at the

International Labour Bureau. He very kindly submitted the list of figures I sent him to the International Bureau at Geneva, and later on received a reply, from which this is taken : " It is thus that it has been possible to show that the figures drawn up by Sir Clive Morrison-Bell are, as near as possible, approximately correct. Any study which the office would make would necessarily have to follow the same methods as those undertaken by your correspondent."

Fortified by these opinions, which, I must repeat, were not in any way official, but which came from sources clothed on this subject with real authority, it seemed that there was no further reason for delay in furnishing Mr. Reynolds with the all-important figures that would enable him to start work on the actual Map. Mr. Reynolds, however, deserves a chapter to himself.

CHAPTER III

A TREASURE-HUNT

THE difficulty of starting out to find something lies very often in the fact that you are not quite certain in your own mind what it is you want to find, and this was the case with me now. Did I want a cabinet-maker, a moulder, a carpenter, a modeller, or a worker in metal—tin for instance—to carry out my ideas? In the solution of this riddle I found myself taking part in a sort of treasure-hunt, the pastime one very often used to see described in the newspapers, and the various clues I followed took me all over London. The first one led to the far end of the King's Road, Chelsea. I remembered some years previously being taken down to a studio in this district, where a large model was being built of a switchback railway which an English company was planning to erect in the Amusement Park of the Paris Exhibition. Three or four workmen, carpenters probably, were busy on it, and one of these, I thought, might be able to do the Tariff Map for me.

The difficulty was that the man who originally took me down to this studio was abroad, so that I could not get the address ; it made quite a nice little hunt wandering about trying to spot the building, for I was expecting to recognize it from the outside.

And when I did stumble on to it, the place was shut up. Nobody answered the bell and none of the neighbours seemed to know anything about it, or its previous owner. However, one old boy, who looked almost as if he might have watched the Chartists marching towards Westminster, had a bright idea, clue No. 2. One of the workmen, he heard, had gone to a firm in Lambeth, not far from Vauxhall Station ; he had forgotten the name, but if I liked he could fetch me the address. This seemed the most likely trail to take up, and off I went. The firm, Messrs. Brunskill's, designed and produced theatrical scenery, and a very interesting time I spent there. The manager, who listened patiently and sympathetically to what I had got to say, explained that most of his work dealt with scenery on a very large scale ; while the walls I was speaking of seemed to run to two or three inches, his walls were never less than twenty or thirty feet high. Consequently, he hardly thought

he could undertake the job, but perhaps a firm he knew of in the Old Kent Road (clue No. 3) would be able to do what I wanted. Before leaving I was shown round the huge studios, and extremely interesting they were. In one, some scenery was being completed for a show at Drury Lane," Rose Marie " if I remember rightly, and in another for a new play shortly to be produced at Wyndham's.

The next day I took up clue No. 3 in the Old Kent Road, but found that the establishment was merely a firm of wholesale merchants for three-ply wood, so not very suitable for my purpose. However, they gave me the address of another business in Holborn (clue No. 4), and though here too it was a case of drawing blank as far as this particular firm could be utilized, yet this venture was really the most useful of the lot, for I was given an address in Wardour Street (clue No. 5) which was going to bring the hunt to an end by finding the treasure.

The following day I repaired to Wardour Street, with the address of Mr. Reynolds in my pocket. The number corresponded with a dark and narrow passage leading into a little back courtyard. In the corner was a wooden flight of steps, up which I went,

being assured that at the end of the passage I should find Mr. Reynolds. The passage seemed to have numerous tenants boarded off by thin planks, and on the furthest home-made door was marked the name I was seeking. I knocked and went in. A man was working with a fretsaw near the window, and in the corner were two girls cutting out jig-saw puzzles. The room was piled up with boxes everywhere, and the floor was covered with bits of wood. They all looked up rather surprised at this unexpected entry, and I started to state the object of my call, and what I wanted.

Now the tariff question in Europe is never a particularly easy one to explain, nor, for that matter, are the new frontiers, hammered out with so much diligence through those long months in Paris, and embodied after Versailles in the Treaties of St. Germain and Trianon. It is not everybody either whose knowledge of the size or shape or even the names of these new countries would stand the test of severe cross-examination, so that it is hardly to be wondered at that my audience appeared a little mystified, and Mr. Reynolds, if he were an honest man, would admit that he had already made up his mind that his visitor had escaped from

Hanwell. We had a good laugh over this first meeting of ours, when, a year later (about May 1927), we happened to find ourselves packing up a Map at No. 10 Downing Street, after its inspection by the Cabinet. This incident, though out of its proper place in my narrative, I may as well describe here.

After five weeks' hard work, Mr. Reynolds had just completed a new and enlarged copy of the Map, covering an area of nearly forty square feet, which I had had prepared for the Economic Conference about to assemble at Geneva. It was receiving its baptism at No. 10, where the Cabinet were examining it before it was taken out there. Thinking it would be something of an outing for him, I telephoned to Mr. Reynolds, told him what was on, and asked him if he would like to come down to Downing Street to help me to lay out the Map. A large table had been set up in the ante-room to the Cabinet Room, close to the door through which all the Ministers would pass. This large copy with its 150 pieces takes about forty minutes to assemble, but all was in order about a quarter of an hour before the Cabinet meeting was timed to begin, and gradually Ministers began to arrive. First the Attorney-General, then Lord Birkenhead with the War Minister,

Sir Laming Worthington-Evans, followed quickly by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Mr. Winston Churchill, Lord Salisbury, Mr. Amery, and the others in quick succession. As they all stopped, examined the Map, and passed me the time of day, Mr. Reynolds, who was standing in the far corner near the messenger, could watch these great personages about whom he must have often read, but probably never seen, studying what he had so cleverly constructed, and could listen to their approval of his handiwork. When they had all gone into the Cabinet room, and the door had been shut, I could not help reminding Reynolds of our first meeting in his workshop in the back courtyard, when it had evidently been touch-and-go whether I should not have to start out on a new hunt.

But I must return to Wardour Street and to the original interview which very nearly proved fatal, and at which I was attempting to enlist the co-operation of my new discovery. Mr. Reynolds explained to me politely, but firmly, that he and his staff were working at top pressure, that he was only halfway through his Christmas trade, and that he could not in the circumstances take on anything further. So I had to go, but with every intention of returning in a

day or two, for it was quite evident that here was the very person I had been looking for; here was the treasure at the end of the hunt, and it was worth every effort to get him to change his mind. I am glad to say that on my second visit, Mr. Reynolds consented to experiment with two or three pieces I had brought along, and see if he could fit them with little walls. This was sufficient not only to arouse his interest but to enlist his enthusiasm. No. 1 Map was soon put in hand, and thus began a connexion which I hope has given him as much satisfaction as it certainly has his strange and unexpected visitor.

CHAPTER IV

THE BANK OF ENGLAND

By the beginning of September the Map was completed and was duly delivered by Mr. Reynolds during my absence abroad. The question now was, what to do with it, and how to make a start; and here, owing to a certain combination of circumstances of which at the time I was unaware, I had a very great stroke of luck. During my time at the Treasury as Parliamentary Private Secretary to the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Winston Churchill) I had occasionally met the Governor of the Bank of England, Mr. Montagu Norman, who frequently visited the House of Commons or the Treasury, and was no doubt being consulted on the intricate technical questions involved in the proposed return to the gold standard. It suddenly occurred to me that perhaps Mr. Norman in his rôle of banker might be interested to see a Map on which the European tariff situation was so clearly defined. I accordingly wrote and explained that I

had just completed some work in this connexion which I should much like to show him, if he could find time to grant me an interview, and that I could bring it up to the Bank of England at any time that happened to suit his convenience.

A few days later the Map was duly laid out for inspection in the Bank Parlour, and passed this searching test with flying colours. The Governor of the Bank was intensely interested, and said that he would like some of his friends to see it if I would leave it there. This was not possible at the moment, as I had promised to show it to someone later on that day, but I offered to bring it back at the beginning of the following week, and this offer was accepted. A notice was inserted by the Bank in the leading newspaper that the Tariff Walls Model would be on view for the next few days in the Bank Parlour, and a general invitation was issued to financial and commercial circles in the City to come in and inspect it.

I was naturally pleased with the interest aroused, but hardly realized then, as I do now, how much glamour and prestige accrued to the Model through its introduction at the Bank of England, and how very much every subsequent step was facilitated by the fact

that it had passed through those august portals. The Governor of the Bank was obviously interested, but his appreciation may have been coloured to some extent by the imminent publication of what has been called the Bankers' Manifesto, of which I was then completely unaware. For here on the table before him was the Bankers' Manifesto visualized. Nearly every paragraph in this weighty document seemed to be epitomized in those little walls decorating each European frontier, and the whole argument stood out more clearly, and was presented with greater force in some ways than in the Manifesto itself. It is no wonder that Mr. Norman, as one of the leading signatories of this famous plea, expressed the wish that a copy could be sent to nine or ten of the leading countries, whose representatives had put their names to the Manifesto, for the Map would undoubtedly have been of assistance in rousing public opinion at the critical moment when this grave warning was about to see the light.

As it is not unlikely that the Manifesto itself will have been almost forgotten, it may be of interest to recall some of its leading phrases.

Barratt's Photo Press, Ltd.

AT THE BANK OF ENGLAND.

"We desire, as business men, to draw attention to certain grave and disquieting conditions which, in our judgment, are retarding the return to prosperity. It is difficult to view without dismay the extent to which tariff barriers have been allowed to interfere with international trade, and to prevent it from flowing in its natural channels. . . . Old markets disappeared, racial animosities were permitted to divide communities whose interests were inseparably connected. . . . Prices have risen, artificial dearness has been created. Production as a whole has been diminished. Credit has contracted and currencies have depreciated. . . . There can be no recovery in Europe till politicians in all territories, old and new, realize that trade is not war, but a process of exchange, that in time of peace our neighbours are our customers, and that their prosperity is a condition of our own well-being. . . . Experience is slowly teaching others that the breaking down of the economic barriers between them may prove the surest remedy for the stagnation that exists."

All this sounds very like "Free Trade" as understood in the political sense in this country, but it is really only a plea for freer trade. Anyhow, everybody in theory is a Free Trader; the difficulty lies in squaring theory with practice, and our present system

is one-sided. Though representatives from sixteen different countries, including the United States, lent the weight of their names to this Manifesto, its chief support came from Great Britain and the City of London, for the British signatures were almost equal in number to those from France, Germany, Austria, and Belgium combined.

While the Map was on view for the next few days at the Bank, it was visited and inspected by a number of the leading figures in the City, of whom a list was kept by an official of the Bank, and many useful suggestions were recorded at the time. The London Press, especially the financial section, was appreciative, and I could not help feeling particularly flattered by a short notice in *The Times* which ended up as follows :

" Sir Clive Morrison-Bell has rendered a conspicuous public service in devising a method for readily exposing to the people of Europe the economic folly of constantly enlarging the obstacles to international commerce."

I am afraid I did not then appreciate as I do now what a very large constituency Europe is to work.

The *cachet* given to the Map by its exhibi-

tion at the Bank of England naturally facilitated its progress everywhere, and all subsequent steps were rendered much easier in consequence. One place led on in a sort of natural sequence to another. A short visit was paid to the Stock Exchange, the Map being placed in one of the corners of the Reading Room, where apparently it was not very easy to discover. I heard one or two Members express regret that they had not seen it, and that it was a pity it had been on view such a very short time. Unfortunately I could not avoid its short stay, as it had to be removed on the Friday afternoon to be taken down the following Sunday to Broadlands near Romsey, where Colonel and Mrs. Wilfrid Ashley were entertaining for the week-end a large and influential trade delegation, which was made up of one-half British and one-half German representatives. The Map was laid out for inspection at Broadlands on the billiard table, and created so much interest, especially amongst the German delegates, that I fear it was responsible for a certain amount of dislocation in the prearranged time-table. Besides the Stock Exchange, the Model was also placed on exhibition in the Royal Exchange (Lloyd's), and at the Baltic.

From the Chairman of Lloyd's I received a letter from which I feel certain he will not mind me quoting the following sentence :

" On behalf of the Committee of Lloyd's I wish to express to you our appreciation of your kindness in lending us the model, which has aroused great interest here, and has been commented upon as a very graphic illustration of the difficulties which confront the various governments of Europe in connection with economic questions.

And a few days later the Secretary wrote :

" I might add to the Chairman's letter that the interest roused by the exhibit was so great that we had to station an attendant by it in order to give a brief explanation of its purpose."

The Committee of the Baltic expressed their regret that the Map, which they had found so interesting—they had placed it right in the middle of their large hall—could not make a longer stay than the four days allotted, as the question of tariffs and all trade hindrances was one which specially affected their Members. About this time, however, there were great demands, especially from chambers of commerce, for the

Map to be exhibited, and even with much travelling up and down the country I found it difficult to fit them all in. It must not be forgotten that besides the Chancellor of the Exchequer, a very "live wire," I had to look after a large county constituency as well.

Before leaving the City, the visits of the Map to the "Big Five," as the five large Banks are affectionately termed, should be recorded. Bankers are especially interested in these questions and are rightly considered to be the leading authorities in all matters affecting trade and commerce, especially International Trade. It is this fact, of course, which lent such weight to the Bankers' Manifesto referred to earlier in this chapter. The procedure followed with the Map as regards the "Big Five" was to take it up to the City and lay it out in the Board-room the day before the Board met, and then fetch it away the day after. This allowed many officials besides the actual Board to study it. I quote from one of the letters received:

"I have been asked by my Board to thank you for the loan of your Map of Europe, with the tariff walls. It has been on exhibition in our office, and our Directors have been

much interested in seeing your graphic illustration of the barriers to trade which at present exist on the Continent. Please accept our thanks for the opportunity of seeing your Model."

From no one did this question of trade barriers and hindrances receive more attention than from the late Mr. Walter Leaf, the Chairman of the Westminster Bank. It is probably no exaggeration to say that Mr. Leaf killed himself, or certainly hastened his end, by his unremitting efforts when his health was failing to arouse Continental opinion to the dangers threatening the stability of post-War Europe by these ever-rising tariffs, and if he did not live to witness much amelioration in the general situation, it is quite certain that his enthusiasm in the cause laid the foundations on which much will eventually be built. Though I never met Mr. Leaf, who latterly spent much of his time out of London, we corresponded a good deal on this question that interested him so much, and I particularly treasure the letter he wrote me while the Map was on view at the Westminster Bank :

" We are much indebted to you for the Model. It was on show yesterday at our

The Times.

NO. 2 COPY (FRENCH MAP) AT THE WESTMINSTER BANK.

Board Meeting, and excited great interest among our Directors. It is certainly a very telling lesson for all who are interested in commerce, and we all owe you a debt of gratitude. Will you kindly let us know when you would like us to pass it on, and to whom."

It was a real tragedy when this financial genius was struck down, for his enthusiasm was of a kind that could communicate itself to others, and would assuredly have got things done.

CHAPTER V

PARIS, GENEVA, VIENNA

THE time had now arrived for some journeyings abroad. London, in one sense, could be considered merely as a sort of "try-out," for though the welcome to the Map was wholly encouraging, its object was not to convert England, anyhow one of the lowest-tariffed countries in the world, but to make some impression on Continental opinion, especially in those countries where protectionist ideas were said to be travelling far beyond the bounds of economic prudence. Another factor ever present in my mind was that the higher these walls were built the more damage was done to British export trade, with consequent loss of employment to our own work-people; if the time came when a lowering of these walls took place, our unemployment figures would certainly react to this movement and register an improvement.

So to some extent this campaign could be considered as a small flank attack in the

great battle that was being continuously waged on many fronts against this difficult but vital problem for Great Britain. Visits followed in rapid succession to Paris, Geneva, and Vienna. The Annual Meeting in Paris of the International Chamber of Commerce, presided over by Sir Alan Anderson in the regretted absence of Mr. Walter Leaf, provided me with a good opportunity, and I wrote to the Secretary and offered to bring the Map over for their Conference. The offer was accepted, and the Map, after being set up in their new and imposing building on the Cours Albert I, was inspected with much interest by the various delegates, for whom it had been laid out in the President's room. It was during the sittings of this Conference that the Bankers' Manifesto appeared in the London Press, and since several of the newspapers in this connexion referred to the Map's recent visit to the Bank of England and published photographs in their letterpress, it was at the moment very much "in the picture."

One of my recollections of this Paris Conference was the distress of the Spanish delegate. "Your walls, they give me a shock," he said. They certainly did look high, but could be justified by the Geneva

Economic Committee's figures, which were unusually definite about the height of the Spanish tariff. I endeavoured without much success to explain this to him, but, being still convinced that Spain was very moderate in her tariff policy, he offered to furnish me with some data and statistics on his return to Madrid. As I was anxious to collect as much information as I could, I readily accepted this offer. These figures arrived about four months later with a lengthy letter which, though it cost me a pound to get it translated, did not appear to challenge very seriously the Geneva calculations. However, I did not myself feel really satisfied about the Spanish wall; it seemed to be so very much out of proportion to the rest of Europe, and especially to its neighbours—it was Lord Ullswater who said to me while inspecting the Map and noticing Spain's high wall, "What a wonderful time Portuguese smugglers must be having"—so on a subsequent adjustment of the figures that followed on another visit to Geneva I took several layers of bricks off the Spanish wall, which I hope will gain the approval of my Spanish friend when next I have the pleasure of meeting him, even though his country still holds the record for Trade barriers.

515 PORTAGE AVENUE
WINNIPEG R3B 2E

Though the Paris visit brought the Map into contact with international business circles, they were not official representatives in the same sense as they were at Geneva, where the Preparatory Committee to the Economic Conference next year were holding their first meeting when I arrived there. The sessions were being held at the Palais des Nations, the old Hotel National of pre-War days, and the headquarters at present of the League of Nations. The Secretariat arranged for the Map to be laid out in the glass passage leading to the Conference room, so that the Delegates were able to inspect it on their way to and fro. Little groups were generally to be seen discussing it, sometimes with one of the countries being flourished about in somebody's hand. Naturally it was very encouraging to see the great interest the Model aroused—I remember one delegate being so enthusiastic that he seized both my hands and shook them warmly, remarking that here was something worthy of the Nobel Prize—and I decided that it would be well worth while having an enlarged copy prepared for exhibition at the Economic Conference in 1927.

I was much looking forward to my visit to Vienna, for which the Austrian Minister in

London had been kind enough to make some arrangements and to assist in drawing up an interesting programme, so it was disappointing that just as the time for starting had almost arrived a curious *contretemps* should happen necessitating the scrapping of all these preparations. I had carefully arranged my dates in order to be able to get back in time to introduce a Private Member's Bill into the House of Commons, for which I had unexpectedly drawn a lucky place in the Ballot. There was no difficulty about fitting all this in, but Dame Fortune had something else in store. Resolutions to be debated on Private Members' nights once a week are also balloted for about this period of the Session, and the Government Whips were always very keen that every Member of the Party should write his name down. With a light heart I complied, and out of over 400 names on the list drew first place. This fairly upset the apple-cart. I went to the Chief Whip and told him I would like someone else to take over my Resolution.

"Impossible, you have to move it yourself."

Then if that were so, I would let it go, and give the next man a chance.

"You can't do that; there is a poisonous

one down after you, and we want that kept out."

It is curious that after trying but consistently failing to draw a winning place in the Ballot for the last eighteen years, luck should have suddenly turned round and presented me with a couple inside two weeks, just when they were highly inconvenient, and I would have given anything not to have drawn them. There was nothing, however, to be done but to telegraph the President of the Chamber of Commerce in Vienna that the visit was " off " for the moment.

New dates were arranged, and at the end of March I was able to go. An interesting programme was arranged, especially one of the items, about which the President wrote :

" We are much looking forward to your coming. Contrary to our expectation the Nationalrat—the Austrian Parliament—will be still assembled. I am writing to the President of Parliament and hope that it will be possible to arrange a demonstration for March 31st of your most elucidating figures and models to the Members of Parliament."

It must be remembered that to Austria the problem of tariffs, especially those put up by her immediate neighbours, is a serious, almost vital one. The Austro-

Hungarian Empire had been dismembered by the Treaties signed on the conclusion of Peace, and in place of a large area formerly comprising one economic unit, there were now many states, all of whom had proceeded to raise formidable tariff walls against the new Austria. How serious for her economic existence these customs barriers could be was clearly brought out in the Report compiled by Messrs. Layton and Rist, and in Vienna numerous books and pamphlets by Austrian economists have been published with the object of proving how prejudicial are all these post-War developments. It is not surprising, therefore, that I found Austrian official circles very sympathetic to what I was trying to do. My visit to the Austrian Parliament was very interesting. The Map was laid out for inspection in the Budget-Saal, and a large number of Members, including the President of the Chamber and one or two Ministers, assembled to hear my brief explanations. The President then made a speech of thanks, with one or two references to the English nation and some complimentary things about myself, after which the proceedings became less formal, and various questions by the Members were put and answered. A little later I received a very

nice letter from the President of the Chamber, Herr Miklas, from which I take the following :

" Ich halte mich für verpflichtet, Ihnen nochmals auf diesem Wege zur Kenntnis zu bringen, mit welchen grossen Interesse alle Teilnehmer dieser Veranstaltung Ihre Darstellung verfolgt haben, die ein Problem betrifft, das alle Staaten und Völker Europas gerade in der jetgigen zeit, deren grosse wirtschaftliche Sorgen wohl kein Land unberührt lassen, in ernster Weise beschäftigt, und daran neuerlich die Bitte zu knüpfen, sich des hertzlichsten Dankes für Ihre instruktiven Darlegungen versichert zu halten."

As I was intending to deliver my address to the Vienna Chamber of Commerce in English, I thought it advisable to supply a few notes printed in German, which would enable the Members to follow what I was saying more easily. For this purpose, before leaving England, I made out a few headings which the Austrian Minister in London was good enough to have translated for me, and these were duly handed round in leaflet form. The introduction ran as follows :

" Sir Clive drückt vorerst der Handels Kammer seinen Dank für die ehrende Einladung aus, in Wien einen Vortrag zu halten, die ihm das Vergnügen bietet, diese

stadt wieder zu besuchen, und lenkt sodann die Aufmerksamkeit der Anwesenden auf das von ihm mitgebrachte Modell, das die Europäischen Zollmanern darstellt."

But I doubt if this precaution was really necessary, for they all seemed to be able to follow my remarks, which I delivered quite slowly, without any difficulty, and the whole Session seemed to go off well. A representative from the British Legation, with the Commercial Attaché, was present. The Chamber of Commerce, unlike similar institutions in England, seems to be a semi-official body closely connected with the Government, and housed therefore in a very fine building on one of the principal streets. It was impossible not to appreciate the Members' contention that the Treaties had left Austria in a perfectly impossible economic position, with a capital and Government buildings out of all proportion to the size of the country behind it, but I had to politely refrain from getting enmeshed in these discussions, which I realized could lead nowhere, and had more to do with high politics than with high tariff walls.

The following afternoon I was asked to give an interview to one of the newspapers, particularly on the Russian and Chinese

Willinger.

AT THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, VIENNA.

questions as viewed by England. It will be recalled that it had just been necessary to dispatch a protective force to Shanghai, and this was then on its way out, though our own misguided Labour Party, listening to Soviet intriguers, were doing their utmost at the time to get this force recalled. The Vienna newspaper was in strong sympathy, I believe, with what is sometimes termed the "Extreme Left," but in a column and a half that they made up out of my remarks the Editor treated me very fairly. I told him that Great Britain would have nothing to do with the Soviets until they could behave like ordinary civilized beings, and that undoubtedly the Soviets were at the bottom of the Chinese trouble. I doubt if my interviewer believed all this—it was not so clear as it is to-day—but about a month later he would be reading about the Arcos raid and the dismissal, bag and baggage, of the Soviet representatives from London—a tardy tribute to my veracity. Before leaving Vienna, I had to give two more addresses, both of which went off satisfactorily, and my short stay, which was made even more enjoyable by some social engagements that included two visits to the Opera, I shall always recall with much pleasure.

Arrangements for a visit to Berlin towards the latter part of 1927 were nearly completed, and I was much looking forward to this interesting journey, when I received word one morning from a quarter that I could not, nor would I have wished to ignore, that the visit at the moment would be considered rather inopportune. I was particularly anxious to travel in Germany and to submit my Map to the " higher criticism " in that somewhat high-brow country—using this adjective in its complimentary sense—for I felt that if it came through this far from easy test, it could really make good anywhere. Now that the particular situation which seems to have been the cause of my disappointment has subsided, I am not without hope that before long this very natural wish may still be gratified.

In February 1929, I paid a second visit to Vienna on my way home from Prague in order to fulfil a promise I made to present the Kammer für Handel, Gewerbe und Industrie (Chamber of Commerce) with a copy of the Map. A little ceremony was arranged, the President of the Chamber and an ex-Minister of Commerce made a few complimentary remarks, and the Map, which had been duly laid out in the reception-room,

was handed over. The Chamber intend to make use of it, not only in Vienna, but in other towns. A few days later, the President of the Chamber, in a letter to me in London, wrote :

" It was really a very kind idea of yours to present this Chamber with your most interesting and valuable Map of the European Tariff Walls and to take the trouble of coming to Vienna to bring it personally. All the Vienna Chamber feels exceedingly grateful to you for your very appropriate attention, and we hope that your Map may prove a very good help in our struggle for an improvement of the commercial conditions in Central Europe. But we don't consider your present only from this point of view ; we appreciate it also as a token of this most precious English sympathy for Austria which is always being shown to us and considered by our country as one of the best helps for a happy development of our future."

I am afraid a great many countries have rather cultivated the habit of looking to England as their best chance of help, and yet, if they only knew it, there is probably no country that is struggling with a more crushing load of taxation, with a vaster army of unemployed, and receiving less from its many creditors than this potential fairy godmother.

CHAPTER VI

GETTING READY FOR THE ECONOMIC CONFERENCE

The World Economic Conference was to be held in Geneva in May 1927, and in view of the great interest that the Map had aroused amongst the Members of the Preparatory Committee in the previous November, I determined that I would put on exhibition a copy for the benefit of the Delegates while the Conference was in Session. My idea was to have a large copy constructed, so large in fact that it would necessarily have to be out of doors, since the walls marking out each frontier would be built up of actual bricks. I visualized a Map of about twenty or twenty-five yards square, with walls varying from about twelve inches high to two and a half or three feet. There seemed to be no technical difficulty about this, and certainly it would make an object-lesson so striking that the impression left on the minds of the delegates by this method of presenting the problem would be one that would not

easily fade. The first thing necessary would be to find a site, and then a builder, so off I started for Geneva. A search round the town on either side of the lake disclosed one or two possible sites, and I began to make enquiries as to their ownership. Confiding to my friend, Monsieur Léon Dufour, who lives near Geneva, what it was I wished to do, he made what to me appeared the rather wild suggestion that I should try and interest the Civic Authorities in the matter, and then perhaps the City might provide me with a site. He offered to accompany me to the Town Hall, where we had arranged an interview with one of the officials. This gentleman became sufficiently interested in the project to allow himself to be persuaded to come with us straight away to the League of Nations and inspect the Map I had on view there. This must have helped him to come to a favourable decision, for the upshot was—much to my surprise, I admit—that the Public Works Department offered to put at my disposal for the erection of the Map any site I liked, either in the public park near the University, or on the Quai du Mont Blanc, the latter position being one which might well be described as the Champs Elysées of Geneva. Naturally I was extremely grateful,

and on Monsieur Dufour's advice chose the Quai du Mont Blanc. There cannot be many towns that would take such a liberal and enlightened view of a project that is suddenly sprung upon them by some visiting foreigner, and it took me a little time to realize fully their generosity. The offer was confirmed a few days later from the Minister of Public Works :

" La Ville de Genève que j'ai consultée à ce sujet, s'est déclarée prête à mettre un emplacement en vue dans une promenade public à votre disposition pour la construction de cette carte. Les emplacements qui peuvent être envisagés sont le jardin de l'Université, ou le quai du Mont Blanc à proximité du Monument Brunswick."

This was surely good enough, but the end of the letter fairly took my breath away.

" En principe, je crois pouvoir vous dire que la Ville ne fera pas de difficultés pour prendre à sa charge le nivellement du sol, mais ne pourra supporter les frais résultant de la construction des murs."

Before leaving Geneva, I visited some brick-fields a few miles out of town, to make enquiries about the supply of bricks. It

appeared there would be some technical difficulties owing to the winter delaying an early start in the renewal of supplies. However, in the end these bricks were never to be wanted, and the reason must be explained by a return to London.

It occurred to me that while this large Map was on view at the Conference in Geneva, it might interest Economic circles and others at home to see an exact replica in London; I accordingly set about looking for a likely site here. Some interesting adventures were part of this quest, but in the meantime another step had been taken, and this time in Devonshire. As a preliminary it was important to get some sort of idea as to what the scale of the Geneva Map should be, not only so as to know how much ground it would take up, but to get the best proportions before the brickwork was started. For instance, the smaller countries must not be so small that they could hardly be seen, when they would also look quite swamped by their walls, nor yet so large that they made the larger countries look impossibly big; there must be some happy mean, and the best way to find this would be to lay out on a largish scale an actual map of Europe. This I did on my tennis court down in Devonshire, and

a very charming picture, somewhat unusual perhaps, it made. The scale for enlarging was eighteen times the size of the copy shown to the City Fathers at Geneva, and the area worked out at over 3,000 square feet. The enlarging was done in the usual way. Two-inch squares were drawn on a Map of Europe, and squares of a yard were laid down with tarred string on the tennis court, being numbered across and lettered up and down to correspond with the squares on the Map.

The next thing was to trace in the different frontiers with tape, and peg this down as we went along with little staples. The gardeners, though very interested, got too muddled for words with all this long-forgotten geography and dimly realized names, and progress was very slow. While I had hold of the Map, and sang out the squares and what direction the tape had to go, they placed it in position and pegged it down. It would have certainly been a very distorted and unrecognizable Europe when finished but for a happy idea, which enabled us to make real progress, and in some comfort, too, for this was the latter part of February when the grass is very damp. I brought out a box of coloured counters that are used for any card game, and with the Map in one hand and a pocketful

Western Mo[illegible]

MAKING EUROPE ON THE TENNIS COURT.
Experimenting for scale of big map to be built at Geneva.

of counters I rapidly sowed a frontier across a square with tolerable accuracy. The tape-men followed and in a day or two we had a wonderful Map of Europe traced out on the court. The white pegs—two or three thousand of them—were added afterwards, chiefly by my daughter, to mark out the frontiers more tidily. For strange things go on under the ground about spring-time, and the tapes which looked so neat and straight when first laid down soon began to be pushed out of shape, sometimes up, sometimes sideways, by unseen forces that probably got their quietus later on from the garden roller. The map afforded such a good lesson in geography that it seemed a pity to waste it, and I wrote to the County Education Authority in Exeter, saying that it was there, and if they cared to let any of the schools in the neighbourhood come and study it, they would be very welcome.

We have now got to the stage of a first-class site in Geneva, an idea of the correct scale from Devonshire, but no site as yet for the replica in London, where we must now retrace our steps to find one. It was about the time when Grosvenor House was to disappear, and at the foot of the garden was a hard tennis court, which obviously would

be very suitable on which to build these small brick walls, as the ground would be quite level and a hard tennis court would be strong enough to support their weight without any further foundation. Messrs. Knight, Frank & Rutley's name was up on this fine old house, so I applied to them. But unfortunately demolition had already begun, the tennis court was strewn with all kinds of débris, and the builders, while very sympathetic, could only regret that they had not had the request a little earlier, when something might have been arranged.

What then was to be done about a site? The Hanover Square firm offered me their further assistance, but a fortuitous brainwave saved me applying for help in that quarter. A large store in Oxford Street, as the newspapers would describe it, in other words Messrs. Selfridge's, had completed their western extension, but had not yet begun the final or centre block. The roof of the original or eastern section was at that time clear, and would be the very place for the London replica, if Mr. Selfridge's permission could be obtained. I called at the store and was shown up to the little eyrie at the top of the western block where sits and works the genius who presides over

this amazing organization. Mr. Selfridge is a man of rapid decision. Having heard what I had come for and put a question or two which went to the core of the whole matter, he informed me that he would have no objection to the Map being erected on the roof, and that the space could be at my disposal after a certain date for which he had already loaned it. I felt very grateful but did not linger unduly over my thanks. I knew that Mr. Selfridge would be anxious to get on to the next out of perhaps a hundred decisions that might have to be taken by lunch-time.

A fine site in London had now been added to the site in Geneva. What remained? It seemed advisable to build a trial or experimental section to discover if there were any unknown difficulties or snags, against which I could warn the Geneva masons. For this it would be necessary to find a builder, and after a short walk from my house I came across one in Upper Berkeley Street, to whom I proceeded to explain my wants. The man looked surprised—"eyed his strange visitor askance" would probably be the correct journalese. I dare say it all sounded very odd to him, like it did once before to Mr. Reynolds, but

his hesitation was temporary. There must be some magic, I think, in the Map, which enables it to smooth away every difficulty—to knock down every wall I was going to say—except that this is the one thing that it may never be able to do. Anyhow, in a very short time, he had announced himself quite ready to undertake the job, and when we were discussing where, he quietly suggested that he could erect it in the drawing-room of a house that he was busy altering in Gloucester Place.

The section he was to experiment on was purposely chosen for its frontier intricacies—Switzerland, and small surrounding portions of France, Italy, Austria, and Germany. I should say here that the walls were to be built on a floor-cloth on which the frontiers had already been marked out to the same scale as the tennis-court Map, and that I intended later on to make use of a full-sized floor-cloth for the Geneva construction. This simple idea I owed to Lady (Ian) Malcolm, and its use would have saved untold time and trouble at Geneva, had the plan of an outdoor Map ever materialized. But the London experiment warned me in time, and put an end to any idea of a fifty-foot Map. The small section built in Gloucester Place,

and not more than half finished at that, took up two men's time for over twenty-seven working hours. It cost ten pounds, though only a small portion was built up with mortar, the rest being dry-walling. Every brick had to be cut into eight parts, and the foreman told me that the Italian frontier would have been better shown if the bricks had been cut into sixteen! The time, the trouble, and the money obviously made the whole thing impossible, and I was thankful that I had made this lucky discovery in time, and not later on out at Geneva. The little walls, which must have been the strangest furniture that that drawing-room was ever likely to see, were accordingly dismantled, but not before they had been viewed by someone whom I can always call to witness. As I was talking to the foreman, and telling him that we should have to give it up, Mrs. Hamlyn, the châtelaine of that beautiful house at Clovelly in Devonshire, happened to pass by, and I asked her if she would care to see something rather unusual. We went in, and found the men packing up. The foreman told me afterwards that they would have been disappointed if, after all the time and trouble they had put into this difficult and really beautiful little piece of work, it

had been pulled to pieces again without anybody seeing it.

Thus died the idea of the big Geneva Map. Perhaps it was too ambitious a project, but I could never have foreseen its technical difficulties. I did not regret all the work that had gone into its conception ; it was a kind of hunt wherein the zest carried you along, and I only wish my pen could now make the story appear as interesting to the reader as its actual carrying out was to me. It was obvious now that I should have to rely at the Geneva Conference on an ordinary Map of the largest scale, and the largest map of Europe, as far as I knew, was the League of Nations Union Map, published by Messrs. Philip & Son, in the Strand. There was no time to be lost, it was barely five weeks to the opening of the Conference, so I wired to Mr. Reynolds asking him to start away at once on his *magnum opus*. Looking ahead a few weeks, to the time when this Map, with its area of about forty square feet, would be completed, it was obvious that it would have to be housed somewhere at Geneva if it was to be inspected conveniently by the Delegates or the public. It was doubtful if I could get it into any suitable building, and the most satisfactory solution would be to erect

a small pavilion entirely for the exhibition of the Map and nothing else. But this would entail finding a contractor to build it, and then there were the authorities in Geneva who would doubtless have to be consulted afresh as to the site. All this could only be done on the spot, and the next day found me once more in the train for Switzerland.

CHAPTER VII

THE ECONOMIC CONFERENCE

I was able to get through all the business rapidly at Geneva, and to return to London the same evening. The contractor quite understood what was wanted, and undertook to have a pavilion erected by the appointed date. My friend at the City Council was informed that the large outdoor Map would not be constructed, and that I should now like permission to erect a small pavilion that would be big enough to house a large-scale ordinary map in some suitable spot. The Geneva Council again made no difficulties, but sent their engineer round to my hotel, and we went off to look at one or two places. He suggested what must surely be the star site in all Geneva, the centre of the large promenade opposite the Hôtel Beau Rivage. Needless to say, this was accepted, for it could hardly have been bettered. But on my way to the station that evening I noticed another place that seemed to me in some ways to be even more suitable, for I felt that

a pavilion erected in the middle of the fairway would be rather a nuisance to foot traffic and seemed hardly fair on the many thousands that use the quay as a promenade on Saturdays and Sundays. This new position was actually alongside this promenade but quite distinct from it, being formed by the roof of a baggage room underneath that belonged to the steamship company. An application to the owners for its temporary loan was granted without any hesitation, and it was here that the pavilion was eventually erected.

The World Economic Conference was so fully dealt with by the Press at the time that it will not be necessary for me to say much about it now. I will therefore confine myself chiefly to the adventures of the Map. The pavilion was not ready as promised when I arrived on May 2nd. On the following day the builder received a thunderbolt in the shape of a lawyer's letter saying that the owner of the house opposite possessed the right to restrain any building going up between her windows and the lake, and would I therefore let him know at once what he was to do. I really did not know, so telephoned my friend Léon Dufour. His advice, which I followed, was to go and call

on the owner. I found a charming old lady, who was nervous about anything interfering with her beautiful view of Mont Blanc, but who obligingly agreed to waive any legal right when the pavilion, about 12 feet high, was explained to her, and particularly its temporary character. She promised, as soon as the Map was installed, to give me the pleasure of escorting her on a visit of inspection. And so ended a series of activities which had been going on continuously for several months, ever since, in fact, the large scale trace was laid down on the Devonshire tennis court. It was really a sort of trial and error process which eventually produced, I think, the best result, for the big open-air Map would undoubtedly have been too big and unwieldy to have been really satisfactory.

I had the assistance of M. Ramseyer, a Russian refugee, in installing the Map one evening, and he acted for me as guardian during the rest of the month, and was extremely useful in giving explanations. Partly to pass the time he kept a kind of rough tally of the " gate " by taking a five minute check once every two hours at the " sortie," and at a very conservative estimate he considered that the numbers passing through the pavilion exceeded 50,000. On

THE MAP ON THE QUAI DU MONT BLANC, GENEVA.

Sundays he had often to close the doors temporarily. On the outside walls was pasted up a short notice of about ten lines explaining the nature of the exhibition inside. It was printed in English, French, and German, and for greater accuracy, as Mr. Speaker might say, I had taken the precaution of getting a member of the French Embassy in London to turn the English version into correct French; the German Embassy were kind enough to do the same for the other language. The heat from the sun was so great inside the pavilion that the wood of the Map began to buckle, and eventually every piece was screwed down to the table. Ramseyer told me that one or two Delegates, whom he got to know by sight, used to come in almost every day and silently contemplate the Map.

Meanwhile the Conference was holding its Sessions morning and afternoon in the Salle de la Reformation, where speeches of much eloquence were being delivered to the assembled Delegates and then translated by the interpreters into one of the official languages. As a Report was issued later on of the proceedings and can be obtained from the Secretariat of the League of Nations, it will not be necessary for me to say more than

that the Conference passed unanimously resolutions condemning these high tariffs, and affirming that the process of raising them had gone too far and should be reversed. Some forty nations took part in these deliberations, and the speeches, of which a summary could be read in the official journal each day, made it quite evident that the gravity of the problem, especially as regards Europe, was very fully appreciated. With so much information available to the student, I feel I can confine myself to matters touching more especially the Tariff Map.

To begin with, I found myself in rather an anomalous position, and I endeavoured to get it defined a little more precisely. I was of course not a member of, nor had anything to do with, the British Delegation, though I have no doubt many of the foreign Delegates thought that there was some connexion. The attitude of the League authorities I could fully understand and appreciate. The Secretary-General, Sir Eric Drummond, with a team of about fifty nations to drive, if I may make use of this expression, had to tread warily and endeavour as far as possible to avoid stepping on anybody's corns. The Map might easily be-

come an apple of discord thrown into this international circle, and since the Secretary-General's business was not to take any risks that might create trouble but to keep the whole cumbrous machine running as smoothly as possible, he was obviously not called upon to have any official knowledge of my activities. I could not therefore expect any help from the Secretariat, even if I did somehow gain the impression, perhaps erroneously, that they did not entirely dislike the Map being there, and would not be dissatisfied if certain visiting Delegates from countries that shall be nameless took the opportunity for their own good of inspecting it. But when I tried as a first move to get a notice inserted in the *Journal Officiel* that the Map was on exhibition on the Quai du Mont Blanc, and that the pavilion would be reserved specially for the Delegates during the morning hours, my efforts met with no success. There was a very stringent censorship, quite rightly, on everything that was put in the *Journal Officiel*, and after two harassing days when they sometimes said " yes " and sometimes " no," the matter was decided in the negative.

It was an unsatisfactory position for me going about the place more or less *type* leper, and I determined that this pre-

liminary step must be wangled somehow, for a notice in the *Journal Officiel* would go some way to regularize my position—put me "on the Map" so to speak. The crowds that very often used to fill the pavilion and make it almost impossible to see anything at all gave me a good opening, and I wrote a letter to the President of the Sub-Committee that had been set up on tariff barriers, saying that I should be happy at any time to consult the convenience of himself and colleagues, should they wish to inspect the Map in comfort, by closing the pavilion temporarily to the public at any hour he chose to name. This letter was read out by the Chairman at the next Session to his Committee, and thus it became eligible for insertion in the *Journal*, a fact to which I speedily drew attention. All this may seem rather a small matter, but it made me feel happier and more comfortable when I read it there the next day.

Another incident for me was the tardy and unexpected arrival of a Bolshevik Delegation from Russia. On the Map, the Russian wall, which, anyhow, is a high one, was shown as regards its upper half by a line of notes of interrogation. I had had pasted on to the Map a brief explanation of these interroga-

tion marks, and had rounded it off with an extract from a *Times* dispatch showing what Stalin thought of Comrade Trotsky's views on economic matters. It is necessary to throw one's mind back to 1927 when Bolshevik internal dissensions had hardly yet leaked out, and when the general atmosphere about Russian affairs and relations had not oozed down to the kind of negative position that it occupies to-day. I thought on reflection that my notice, which seemed quite suitable and proper in London, might appear a little controversial at Geneva where the Delegates were engaged in a peaceful conference on economics as opposed to all political questions, and that it even might give some indirect support to another agitation which a little bird informed me was going on in regard to the Map about this time. So I went round to some printers and hurriedly got a new notice printed which successfully blotted out the original one. This new explanation ran quite innocuously as follows : " It is not possible to give the comparative height of the Russian wall, even approximately as in other cases, since sufficient data to work out this comparison are lacking. There is no doubt that the wall is a high one, but the two commercial systems—the

European and the Russian—are so different that in this case one must be content to finish the wall with a note of interrogation."

After the Conference had been going for a few days, I was informed by a friend—one of the old stagers at Geneva who claimed to be very much "in the know" as to what was going on generally behind the scenes—that the French were not at all pleased with the Map. France was represented by a powerful and numerous Delegation, and took a very prominent part in the Conference, for the summoning of which she had originally put forward the first suggestion. But the French position in the Conference Hall was not without some difficulty, for while member after member rose and denounced with much eloquence at Geneva "les Barrières Douanières" and all the evils that come in their train, the Senate in Paris was simultaneously at work on a Bill which was designed to raise the French barriers by another 20 or 30 per cent. Either position might have been sustained by itself, but it was getting more difficult as each day went by to maintain both these contentions at one and the same time. It is possible that the resources of oratory might have been able to get away successfully, even with this in

the Conference Hall, for there is much virtue in a well-delivered speech, but the Map with its object-lesson solidly and prominently in view of all and sundry was a different proposition, and it is not inconceivable that its presence in the circumstances was slightly inconvenient. Anyhow, my friend assured me that a protest might be expected from that quarter, where the Map was looked upon not only as British propaganda but *tendancieuse* : the French wall was far too high, the British wall too low, and so on. I asked my informant what he thought I had better do, for in my somewhat anomalous position as an economic free-lance I particularly wished to avoid any incidents of this sort. He advised me to wait and see, as nothing might happen, and, as is so often the case, nothing did.

I suppose that it was merely one out of those hundreds and hundreds of rumours that seem to circulate so freely in the atmosphere of Geneva, where the paragraph-writer can never complain that he has not something handy to make a story of. It would certainly have been a good story in this instance, for there was quite a good counter case to have been put up from my side. One of the chief members of the

French Delegation at Geneva was Monsieur Clémentel, who the previous year had been active in getting the Map exhibited at the Senate in Paris, and amongst the papers that I had with me at Geneva was a letter from the President of the Chamber of Deputies in Paris, thanking me for having placed the Map on view in that Chamber. Before the Conference closed Mrs. Barton, who owns the lovely villa facing the Lake near the League of Nations, was good enough to invite me to dine to meet Monsieur Loucheur, the chief of the French Delegation, and I hope I was able to convince him, during a very friendly chat, that so far from France being represented by too high and England by too low a wall on the Map, the exact contrary was nearly certainly the case.

Towards the end of May the World Conference, of which the Delegates were beginning to get a little weary, drew to its close, and another Conference at the International Labour Bureau took its place. I remember well the remark of a Delegate who had brought a friend in to see the Map just before leaving for home. "I think I have learnt more," he said, "in three minutes studying your Map than I have during the three weeks in the Conference Hall," which can surely

be looked upon as a justification for its having been put on exhibition out there.

The International Labour Bureau, or B.I.T., as it is usually called, asked me to leave the Map for a few more days while their Conference was sitting, so that the Delegates could have the opportunity of studying it. At the same time they offered to pay any extra charges incurred. I was naturally flattered by this request, though incidentally it also brought a protest from the lawyer, who saw no signs, as promised, of the demolition of the pavilion. However, the delay was only a few days, and my explanation was accepted by the owner, to whom I had gone to express my thanks for the temporary use of the site. A week later the following comment appeared in the *Journal de Genève*, which, under its distinguished Editor, M. William Martin, had been following the Conference with a series of brilliant articles that no doubt exercised considerable influence far beyond the immediate shores of Lake Geneva :

"LES BARRIÈRES DOUANIÈRES DE L'EUROPE

"Le pavillon du quai du Mont-Blanc, qui abritait la carte économique de l'Europe de Sir Clive Morrison-Bell, est maintenant

démoli. On estime à 50,000 au bas mot le nombre des personnes qui ont defilé devant la carte, et son auteur a receuilli de toutes parts les plus grands éloges et des remerciments unanimes. Il a certainement collaboré, en créant un courant d'opinion, au succès de la Conference économique, et a permis à tous les délégues de garder de leur visite à Genève un Souvenir en quelque sorte matériel de la gravité du problème douanier en Europe."

CHAPTER VIII

SOME VISITS IN ENGLAND

It will be convenient before taking another journey abroad to refer to some of the activities of the Model at home. Applications for a short loan of the Map began to arrive from Chambers of Commerce, who are, of course, especially interested in all this type of question, and I did what I could to sandwich in as many visits as possible to these important bodies. A similar idea, it seems, had already occurred to the Sheffield Chamber of Commerce when the Map was originally on exhibition at the Bank of England, and this was expressed by them in a letter to the Governor's Secretary:

"I am desired therefore on behalf of this Chamber to suggest that it would serve a very useful purpose if this Model could be loaned to some suitable institution in each of the larger cities and towns throughout the country, including Sheffield. I shall be greatly obliged if you will let me know whether such an arrangement is possible."

I am always hoping that it will be possible to do more in this line later on when the pressure on the Map from its foreign engagements has been lightened, and I am looking forward to paying some visits to these interesting centres. I feel much encouraged to carry out a programme of this nature by a letter which reached me towards the end of the year from the Secretary of the same Chamber of Commerce in which this sentence occurs :

" I hope I am not unduly troubling you, but what you have done in this matter has aroused a great deal of interest throughout the country, and I need scarcely tell you is very greatly appreciated."

But it must always be remembered that the original idea was to launch a campaign against the European tariff walls and to arouse, if this be possible, public opinion abroad, for the case for propaganda at home, where the wall is relatively so low, even from the most rabid free-trade point of view, is not an urgent one.

Amongst the early invitations with which I had to deal were those from the Cardiff and Manchester Chambers, the British Empire producers, the Liverpool Chamber,

the Associated Chambers of Commerce, the Preston Chamber and the Manchester Free Trade Union. The invitation from Manchester was to their Annual Meeting and then to be the guest of the Chamber at luncheon, and for certain reasons connected with a visit abroad it was not too easy to fit this in. But having finally accepted with much pleasure, I was looking forward to my visit to Manchester when another unexpected contretemps intervened. The Secretary and I had to exchange a good many telegrams before I was able to assure him definitely that I should be travelling down to Manchester on Sunday night. The reason for his anxiety was made clear to me later from a passage referring to trade barriers in the President's address for the following day, which it would then have been rather too late to alter :

" We are privileged to have with us this morning Sir Clive Morrison-Bell, who has originated a most graphic method of bringing home to everybody the alarming extent to which barriers against trade exist in Europe to-day. I refer to the Tariff Walls Map which Sir Clive has constructed, and which is now on exhibition in the ante-room of this hall. I hope you will all inspect it as

you go out, because it will bring home even more than anything I might say the urgent need for the work now being performed by the International Chamber of Commerce and the League of Nations, to endeavour to bring about some relief from the restriction imposed upon international trade by the existence of these barriers. There is to be a World Economic Conference at Geneva in May, when this problem of trade barriers will be probed to its depths, and I trust that public opinion may be so educated by the studies conducted at Geneva that we may find nations willing to agree one with another to reduce or remove the barriers, which have such a deplorable effect."

The Map stayed two or three days in Manchester, and after being exhibited in the Lord Mayor's Parlour at the Town Hall, was taken to the Cotton Exchange, where it created, I was informed, a good deal of interest.

A month later the Map was due to return to Manchester, where it had been promised (on the conclusion of a three-day visit paid to the Preston Chamber of Commerce) to the Committee of the N.W. Free Trade Union for their Annual Meeting. How nearly both these engagements fell through would not be known to my friends in Preston or Man-

chester, but it was only a few hours before the actual meeting that the Map reached the Preston Chamber, owing to the following circumstances. Sir Arthur Balfour, the Chairman of the Royal Commission on Trade and Commerce, whence was issued later the so-called "Balfour" Report, had written to me that he was about to visit Berlin and Copenhagen to deliver an address at some Trade Conferences and would like to take the Map of the Tariff Walls with him for exhibition during his meetings, if it was available. Sir Arthur will probably remember the amusing rehearsals we had at his flat in London of how to lay out the Map and how to repack it into its travelling case, far the more difficult operation of the two, for a mistake in the early layers always seemed to leave one or even two pieces over with nowhere to go. I was counting on the Map being home early in March so that it could fulfil its North Country engagements, when the following letter arrived:

"I am afraid I have put you into some trouble. I showed the Model in Berlin twice, with great success. I then showed it in Copenhagen at the Stock Exchange, where I spoke, and there was such a demand for it to be shown in Parliament and in every other

place, that they begged me to leave it with them. I felt that it would serve such a useful purpose, and as I could not consult you, I took the liberty of leaving it in the hands of the Chairman of the Danish National Committee. He will send it along at once, on receipt of a telegram, but otherwise, he will bring it over himself in the first few days of April."

It seemed a very great pity not to be able to take advantage of this favourable opportunity and leave the Map out in Copenhagen, and if it had only been a question of the two engagements in the North, I would have endeavoured, if quite suitable to my hosts, to change the visit to a later date. But this would have solved only half the difficulty, for towards the end of March the Map was to fulfil an engagement, already once postponed, in Vienna. There was nothing to be done therefore but to ask Sir Arthur to telegraph to have the Model returned to London without delay. When applying later on for the loan of a Map to take with him to Brussels, Sir Arthur jokingly wrote: "I would promise to bring it back myself this time."

A visit one evening with the Map to St. James's Palace, where it was inspected with

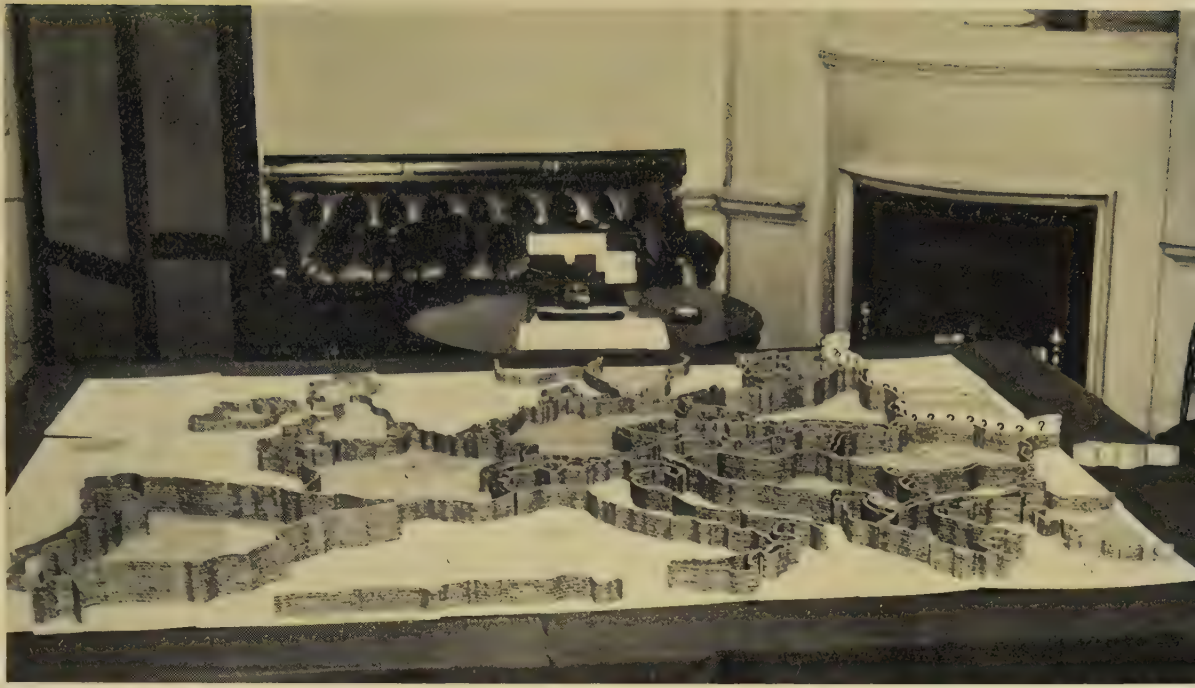
interest by the Prince of Wales, only leaves one wondering how His Royal Highness can possibly find enough time in each twenty-four hours to fit in so many engagements.

The position was made much easier towards the end of the year by the completion of another copy of the Map, and by the following April Mr. Reynolds had finished the large copy which was being prepared for the Economic Conference at Geneva, referred to in a previous chapter. The latter was the Map that made its début at No. 10 Downing Street, where it was inspected both before and after a Cabinet Meeting by the Members of the Government.

Before risking any public exhibition I thought I had better familiarize myself both with the laying out and the replacing of this Map in its two large travelling cases. I accordingly asked Sir John Fitzgerald if I might come down to Stanmore and make use of his billiard table. It was really like doing a jig-saw puzzle but on a huge scale. Packing it up was the real difficulty. Like a game of chess, it had to start off right from the first move. My first try took me about 50 minutes, but something went wrong at the second attempt, and it was nearly two in the morning before everything was packed

snugly away. I find now that either business can be done in about twenty minutes, provided kind friends, anyhow during the packing operation, can be induced to refrain from "helping."

An amusing incident occurred while the photograph (shown here) was being taken at No. 10. It was being done by what is called a time exposure, and the photographer, no doubt suitably impressed by his surroundings, was determined to make a good job of this interesting exhibit. His assistant was balancing the camera on a pyramid of tables and books, while he (the photographer) stood watch in hand near one of the doors to count the seconds. It chanced that Mrs. Baldwin, who had not been told that anything unusual was going on downstairs, was hurrying out with a secretary to fulfil some engagement that it would take her all her time to reach, when suddenly up went an arm across the doorway from the operator, who was much too occupied in studying the face of his watch to notice that of the wife of the Prime Minister. I was so quick to offer explanations and apologies that precious number one plate certainly went West. When thanking me later on for a copy of the photograph, Mrs. Baldwin wrote: "I was



Sport and Genera

AT NO. 10 DOWNING STREET.

much relieved to find that Miss —— and I were not in the middle of your Mediterranean Sea."

With an address at the latter end of November to the Rotary Club at Exmouth, I combined an engagement to the University College in Exeter, where the Principal, Mr. John Murray, was giving a series of addresses on Economics. I shall always remember this visit with especial pleasure on account of the very charming letter that I received a few days later from one of the professors at the College :

" The fascination of your Model is still upon me, and my reason for encroaching on your time is that I have devoted much thought since your visit to a consideration of the many lessons it teaches, and the conviction grows upon me that you would confer a great boon upon students and the public in general if you could see your way clear to give the Model a wider publicity. I write now as one who has frequently the task of conveying to students the theory of political and economic relations between the nations of the world, with particular reference to the physical and other natural foundations upon which such intercourse is based. There is, of course, no need for me to emphasize to you the apathy with which

statistical data, as presented in the average blue-book, is greeted, nor is it necessary to enlarge upon the time that is spent in efforts to stimulate mental digestion of the unappetizing masses of figures by the unfortunate students. The usual examination syllabus leaves a lecturer little time to prepare such models as yours even of a very crude type, and yet the three-dimensional method is the only effective method of presentation. I realize from the enthusiasm of those who listened to you and saw the Model the accuracy of my previous conviction that in it lies the surest form of education in the matters it illustrates. I have said nothing of the obvious advantages to be derived by those who are no longer of student age, but I hope that this with my remarks may weigh with you and that you will increase the debt already incurred by what you must have found an eager and appreciative public."

I do not know so much about the debt, but I do know that nothing has given me greater pleasure, or made my efforts seem more "worth while" than this letter, which I have often found myself re-reading. It has helped to resolve many doubts and to smother many thoughts of the *cui bono* type which are apt to crowd in on one perhaps on some long chilly return journey from a distant foreign capital, in which a few days have been spent

on what at times appears a rather hopeless task. There must be some virtue inherent in the Map, when it can evoke such a charming letter from a stranger, and this incident makes me feel the more convinced that a multiplication of these Maps or Models—not one in one country, but dozens in every country—is what is really wanted to bring this menacing question into the realm of practical politics.

The Map finished the year 1926 by a visit to the offices of the *Morning Post*, where the Editor wished to display it in the windows of the Aldwych Building. The lesson intended to be conveyed must have been just the reverse to that for which the Free Trade Union had borrowed it a few weeks previously, but the Map's chief merit lies in the fact that it is actually capable of conveying either or both these lessons at one and the same time. The *Morning Post* probably meant the spectator to let his reflections run somewhat as follows: Look at all these high tariff walls keeping British goods out, and then look at the miserable little wall round semi-defenceless England which meekly allows every foreign country to flood her home market; whereas in Manchester the student was expected to take notice of the

Trade hindrances and general muddle in which Europe seemed hopelessly involved, and to thank Providence that Great Britain, if not quite pure, was at least exhibiting more sense. I remember a story that used to circulate in those far-away pre-War times of the Free Trade—Tariff Reform controversy and which was attributed, I think, to Sir Herbert Samuel, whose return to Westminster after his labours abroad has been so generally welcomed. The story goes that he bet one of his interrupters that he could not supply an answer to the question whether Mr. (now Lord) Balfour was a Free Trader, Tariff Reformer, neither or both. In the same way, while studiously keeping clear of this ancient controversy myself when the Map is being exhibited, I am unable to say whether it meets with more approval from Free Traders or from Tariff Reformers. I remember one evening in the House of Commons a prominent Liberal champion of Free Trade—now a Minister in the Labour Government—saying to me as we passed out into the Lobby, "We Free Traders are going to put up a statue to you." On the other hand, a Member of the then Conservative Government who never made any secret of his protectionist sentiments in the

House was quite indignant that I should have been put to any expense personally over the Map, and declared that a Government Department ought to pay my travelling expenses and take over the task of issuing replicas to all the big centres of population and to all Chambers of Commerce. Needless to say, this would have been very agreeable to me, but I could not help asking him, if the Map was going to make such excellent propaganda for his point of view, how he could account for the statue idea. He replied that Free Traders were hopeless and were just the sort of people who *would* draw an entirely wrong conclusion from the Map. Anyhow, whichever side may be right in a problem that never seems to get any nearer a solution, the fact remains that when I went to collect the Map from the *Morning Post* offices about Christmas-time, I was asked if it might be left there another ten days.

CHAPTER IX

PARIS

It is only natural that the Map should have been frequently on exhibition in Paris, partly perhaps because Paris is on the way to everywhere, either going or coming, but more because it is the intellectual centre of so many progressive movements that have as their object a betterment of those general conditions under which we all exist. For several weeks at a time the Map used to be on view at the offices of Messrs. Cook & Son, in the Rue de la Paix, but its more important visits were paid to the Senate, the Chamber of Deputies, the Quai d'Orsay (Foreign Office), to the Senate a second time during the meeting of the Inter-parliamentary Union, the British Chamber of Commerce, to the International Press Club, and to the Faculté de Droit at the Paris University. It owed its first exposition at the Palais du Luxembourg (Senate) to M. Clémentel, an ex-Minister of Commerce, who had seen it the previous month at the Annual

Meeting of the International Chamber of Commerce.

M. Clémentel, impressed with the capabilities of the Map for conveying a simple but striking lesson on the general situation in Europe, remarked that he would like to see it displayed in the Senate for the benefit of some of his friends. I was naturally only too pleased to follow up this suggestion, and the following month, while passing through Paris on my return from a visit to Geneva, I obtained an interview with M. Clémentel and the matter was soon arranged. I took the Map to the Palais du Luxembourg, and it was laid out in a Committee Room adjoining the magnificent Salle des Conférences, but I doubt if it was discovered by many Senators during its short stay there. I should have liked to have left it there longer, and one of the officials did tell me when I was packing it up that it was a pity the Model should be taken away so soon as Members were just beginning to discover its whereabouts; but, as usual, there was some other engagement looming ahead, and it had to return home. However, its visit to the Senate was very useful in that it gave me an opening for offering it for exhibition to the Chamber of Deputies later on.

To this offer I received a very courteous reply of acceptance, and after some interchange of letters, a convenient date was fixed, arrangements being promised on the other side for a small platform to be placed in some suitable site for its exhibition. When later on I arrived in Paris one evening and presented myself according to plan at the Palais Bourbon, I was met by the Secretary-General, who informed me that the Chamber of Deputies, after a very late sitting, had adjourned for a week. It appears that M. Poincaré was engaged in one of his many heroic Budget struggles and the debates were expected to last for at least a week. But evidently the Chamber is in this respect like our own House of Commons, where it is quite impossible to predict with any certainty what is likely to occur. Contrary to general expectation, M. Poincaré had succeeded in getting the Chamber during an all-night sitting to put the whole of his Budget through, and in return the Members had been allowed a week's holiday.

The Secretary-General, who had sent me a telegram but too late that morning, was profuse in his apologies, but I assured him that he never need have any qualms about providing an Englishman with an excuse for

a visit to his delightful capital. A fresh date was accordingly arranged. This was to come off in the middle of December, and was actually the date suggested by the President of the Tariff Committee, who happened to be passing through the Lobby while we were talking and who gave it as his view that the Members of the Chamber would be likely to show more interest in the Map at a time when their new Tariff Bill was actually under discussion in the House. It was only when I returned to London that it occurred to me that an indirect incursion into a French debate, even though the date was not of my own choosing, might place me in a very invidious position and be much resented. I explained my anxiety by letter to the Secretary asking him to change the date, and eventually the middle of January was selected. In view of the correct attitude I had taken up in this matter, I was surprised to read in a London paper a dispatch from Reuter which said that Sir Clive Morrison-Bell explained that he wanted to place before French Deputies a presentation of the facts before the French Chamber approached the scheme for the revision of the Customs Tariffs—exactly, in fact, what I had taken such pains to avoid. The *Journal*

des Débats, in a friendly notice describing the Map, added, " de sorte qu'il suffit d'un coup d'œil pour se rendre compte de l'importance des barrières douanières établies par chacune des nations européennes," but one of the Paris papers, taking quite a different point of view, did not seem at all pleased, and had a little article headed " Les Anglais Chez Nous " which is worth preserving:

" Jusqu'ou ira notre hospitalité ? On peut voir, depuis quelques jours, à la Chambre, dans la salle des Quatres Colonnes, au pied de la Statue de Montesquieu, un objet singulier. Cela représente la carte d'Europe, mais les frontières des Etats sont marquées d'une façon particulière : de petites barrières rouges, posées verticalement sur la carte, les dessinent.

" Information prise, la hauteur de ces barrières est proportionnelle à la lourdeur des Tarifs douaniers institués par chaque nation. Seule l'Angleterre n'est protégée par aucune barrière. Ce jouet pour leçons de choses a été installé à cet endroit par un parlementaire anglais, M. Clive Morrison, qui a la prétention de nous faire apprécier ainsi, de façon saisissante, le libéralisme de son pays.

" Il ne semble pas que cette propagande produise grand effet ; les députés ne songent

même pas à se demander pourquoi, en ce temps de protectionnisme, cet aimable Anglais a put obtenir l'autorisation d'encombrer ainsi une des Salles du Palais-Bourbon. Qu'arriverait-il si des Français émettaient la prétention d'y installer de même des instruments de propagande pour toutes les idées qui leur passent par la tête ? "

I am afraid I do not feel capable of answering the latter question, but I shall always remain grateful for the Chamber's hospitality. The late M. Bokanowski, at that time Minister of Trade and Commerce, whose death in an aeroplane accident left a sad gap in the ranks of French statesmen, was particularly interested in the Model and invited me to luncheon to explain it more fully. One of the guardians in the Salle des Quatre Colonnes told me, when I returned there to pack it up, that he had noticed M. Bokanowski stop every morning for some minutes in front of the Map on the way to his room. Another Minister with whom I had the opportunity of some conversation on this question of tariff barriers was M. Loucheur, who headed the French Delegation later on in the year to the Geneva Economic Conference.

A few days after my visit to the Chamber I received the following letter, of which any ordinary back-bencher may be justified in feeling a little proud.

"MONSIEUR LE DÉPUTÉ,

"Je suis chargé par M. le Président, tant en son nom personnel, qu'au nom des Membres de la Chambre des Députés de France, d'avoir l'honneur de vous exprimer ses remerciments pour l'exposition de la carte tarifs douaniers de l'Europe dans l'enceinte du palais-Bourbon, exposition qui a retenu l'attention d'un grand nombre de députés.

"Veuillez agréer, Monsieur le Député, l'expression de mes sentiments les plus distingués,

"Le Secrétaire Général de
la Présidence."

The Map's second visit to the Palais du Luxembourg (Senate) arose from the fact that Dr. Lange, the Secretary-General of the Inter-parliamentary Union, had seen the large Model when it was on exhibition in May at Geneva during the Economic Conference, and had written to me :

"It would be most desirable if you could exhibit your chart in one of the rooms of the

Henri Manuel.

AT THE PALAIS DU LUXEMBOURG (SENATE), PARIS.

French Senate when we are having our Inter-parliamentary Conference from August 25th to 30th, and I write you now to invite you on behalf of the Inter-parliamentary Bureau to help us in this respect. One of the questions on our Agenda is ' Possibilities of the Creation of a European Customs Understanding,' so that you see that your Map might be considered as a most instructive illustration of the present state of misunderstanding in Europe in the Economic field."

I was very glad to fall in with this suggestion, merely stipulating that the Union should arrange for the provision of a sufficiently large table at the Senate. A day before the opening of the Conference I went to see the Questeur, the official in charge of the Senate building, in order to find out where the Map was to be put. I wanted to avoid its being hidden away, as previously, in some Committee room to which none of the delegates would take the trouble to wander, and I was agreeably surprised when this official suggested that the table should be placed in the large bow window which is in the centre of the magnificent gallery known as the Salle des Conférences. As this was the meeting-place for all the Delegates outside the Conference Hall, I felt that the

Map, which I noticed was often being discussed by animated groups collected around it, was pulling its weight. Frequent references appear in the Official Report of the Conference issued later on in the year, from which I will quote the opening remarks of a Belgian Deputy :

"Monsieur le Président,

"Dans la magnifique salle que le Gouvernement de la République française a bien voulu mettre à la disposition de la Conférence interparlementaire, il y a deux documents infiniment precieux et significatifs. Il y a, d'abord, une carte qui devrait se trouver dans tous les parlements de l'Europe, carte qui indique d'une façon précise et schématique les difficultés apportées par le système douanier à la libre circulation des richesses dans notre Europe. Il y a un peu plus loin, etc."

I welcome heartily this Belgian Deputy's idea that there should be displayed a Map of this nature in every Parliament in Europe, and perhaps one of these days, before a solution to this question is found, there will be ; but it is no good hoping that anything of this sort will come about very speedily and the only thing is to keep on quietly working away.

It was while the Map was here in the Senate that I wrote to the Secretary of the French Foreign Office on the Quai d'Orsay, offering him the loan of the Map for a few days, as soon as the Senate Conference was over, and before taking it back to England. I told him that it had been for several days in his opposite number, the Foreign Office in London, where it had been inspected with a good deal of interest by officials whose work lay in the European Department. M. Berthelot of the Foreign Office replied and thanked me for "cette aimable proposition," which he accepted with great pleasure, adding that the Map would be consulted "avec le plus vif intérêt par les services économiques." Accordingly, towards the middle of December the Map was duly installed in the hall of the Salle des Archives and the public were invited by an official notice in the *Journal des Débats* to come in and inspect it. Unfortunately, here again its visit could only be a very brief one, owing to the fact that it had been promised for an important Conference that was to be opened a few days later by the Lord Mayor in the Guildhall, and two days would necessarily be spent in packing it up, transporting it across the Channel and laying

it out again in the Council Chamber. A few days after my Paris visit, I received a very cordial letter of thanks from M. Briand, who was then at the head of the French Foreign Office, and I naturally appreciated the implied compliment in linking up my campaign against the European tariff walls with the question of the maintenance of peace, for which it will be freely acknowledged M. Briand has done more than any living European Statesman. M. Briand's letter ran as follows :

" Monsieur le Député,

" Vous avez bien voulu exposer, pendant quelques jours, à mon Département, votre si intéressante et suggestive carte des murailles douanières Européennes qui avait déja, cette année, vivement attiré l'attention de la Conférence inter-parlementaire de Paris.

" En vous remerciant d'avoir mis à la disposition du Ministère cette œuvre dont tous ceux de mes collaborateurs qui l'ont examinée ont pu apprécier l'utilité, je souhaite à votre heureuse initiative le succès qu'elle mérite, afin qu'elle contribue, pour sa part, au maintien de la paix en développant, progressivement, un état d'esprit favorable à l'abaissement des barrières économiques.

" Veuillez agréer, Monsieur le Député, l'assurance de ma considération très distinguée.

(*Signed*) " A. BRIAND."

At the risk of insulting my readers, I really think I must add an English translation here :

" You were good enough to display for several days in my Department your very interesting and suggestive map of the European tariff walls, which already this year had keenly attracted the attention of the Interparliamentary Conference in Paris.

" In thanking you for having put at the disposal of the Ministry this work, the utility of which all those of my colleagues who have examined it have been able to appreciate, I wish for your happy inspiration the success that it merits, in order that it may make its contribution to the maintenance of peace, by developing step by step a state of mind favourable to the lowering of economic barriers.

" Pray accept, Monsieur le Député, etc."

The following year the British Chamber of Commerce in Paris were good enough to invite me to be their guest at one of their monthly luncheons, and I took over the large Geneva copy of the Map for the occasion.

I was much impressed by the unanimity of all the Members with whom I spoke as to the difficulty of carrying on business in Paris, owing to the increasing stringency of the French tariff. They all seemed fairly decided that the wall on the Map round France was not high enough, and this reassured me considerably about the height at which the wall was already standing. For at Geneva the previous year the French Delegation had strongly criticised the Map as merely British propaganda, with the French wall far too high and the English one too low. I had the feeling that these keen British importers with their daily transactions must be fairly good judges of the situation. In my address I once again enlarged on the idea of a " Tariff Holiday " as a preliminary move to any drastic rearrangements, and they agreed that it was more likely to succeed in that it was the line of least resistance and therefore something that would arouse the least general opposition.

A year later the Map was at the Sorbonne, or, to be more accurate, at the Faculté de Droit of the Paris University. I had intended to address the assembled students in English, which I believe they would have sufficiently understood, but the Director

Keystone View Co.

THE BRITISH CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, PARIS.

seemed very insistent that I must address them in French. I explained to them what a nice cheap English lesson they were all missing. The Map had been taken over and left at the Faculté de Droit the previous week, so as to give all and sundry a chance to study it. To my suggestion that it should be placed on a large landing at the top of the first flight of stairs and not in the adjoining class-room, the Director replied that from his knowledge of the students they were very similar to the high-spirited lads in the English universities about which he sometimes read, and that if the Map was left out "in the open" so to speak, there was no knowing during the week what the students' spirit of fun might prompt them to practise on the defenceless walls. The gargoyles on Notre Dame would perish with envy. So it was placed under the care of a guardian, who reported a continual stream of visitors. For the lecture at the end of the week I found the students of both sexes an extremely attentive and apparently interested audience, and the visit to this renowned University will always be an agreeable memory.

An interesting example of a bus-driver's holiday was afforded by the Chairman of my Women's Association in the Honiton

Division, Lady Clinton, who, being in Paris at the time, said she would very much like to accompany my wife to the Conférence. Considering the rival attractions for ladies on a fine afternoon in this shopping Mecca, this could be ranked not only a bus-man's holiday, but the conductor's too.

CHAPTER X

QUELLES SONT VOS BASES?

THE above is a question that has certainly been put to me more frequently the last three years in connexion with the Map than any other—"How do you calculate the height of your walls?"—and it may be convenient now to say something about these calculations. The walls surrounding the various countries present an attempt to visualize the difficulties with which some theoretical British exporter might be met in his endeavour to introduce manufactured or semi-manufactured goods into some European country that has equipped itself with the ordinary customs-house organization. Tariffs to our business firms represent a very real barrier decked out in the guise of a schedule of payments that have to be met before their goods can be introduced. The general public know little of these things and are unable to recognize the part that customs duties very often play in the ultimate price, unless this point is very specially brought to

their notice. It is the general public, however, which will have to be educated before this question can ever become a sufficiently live one to get taken up seriously by statesmen or politicians; this Map therefore is an attempt to visualize these customs-house schedules so that they convey the idea of being physical walls over which international trade and commerce have to laboriously climb. It simplifies a complicated question and makes it more palatable to the man in the street. I think if I were ever to be asked, "What is the upshot of all your efforts?" or "What have you achieved, if indeed anything?" I should at least be justified in saying that I have introduced and generally popularized the expression "tariff walls" in place of the former description "customs schedules" or "trade barriers." Even as I write this I notice a leading article in the *Morning Post*, under the heading "Trade and Empire," which begins as follows:

"The biggest thing happening in the world to-day is that the Americans are putting another course of bricks on their tariff wall. We see the effect of that great building operation already in all parts of the world."

This sounds a perfectly normal opening to-day, but what leader-writer would have talked casually to his readers about putting a course of bricks on a tariff wall a few years ago. It would have been necessary to go into long explanations about this simple simile. So to have accomplished even this may be of some use, for the moment the public in other countries begin—and my remarks can generally be taken as referring to European countries where I have chiefly been working and not to Great Britain, where the walls are comparatively low—to be seized with the idea that they are prevented from enjoying to the full the necessaries of life, because they are walled in as though with a brick wall, the further idea might begin to take root, namely, that it might not be a very difficult operation by a concerted effort to knock a few bricks off the top of these walls. It is along these elementary lines of mass psychology that the best hope of any progress, however moderate, depends, and for propagating this idea there can be no simpler method than through the eye by means of this somewhat novel form of cartography.

It will, of course, at once be said, in circles taking the more restricted point of view, that

this is sheer Free Trade and nothing else, and were I only concerned in our little domestic squabble over Free Trade and Tariff Reform I should have to admit that it did look rather like it. But in theory surely everybody is a Free Trader, and, as a sensible person, could hardly be anything else, if they can get it. The trouble for this unimpeachable *theory* is that Great Britain is trying to play the rôle of a Free Trade country in an otherwise Protectionist world, and that other countries are showing no zeal to follow her example. The theory cannot work properly if it is only practised in a one-sided fashion. Those who hold that if Great Britain is to scrap all her trade defences other countries should equally be prepared to do the same are really maintaining a very sound position. Under modern conditions we really cannot afford to be left high and dry. The "gesture" should be mutual and not all on one side.

In the meantime I find myself being rather led away from the question of how the height of the European tariff walls has been determined, and we had better get back to this bit of business. In a former chapter I described how it took me several months to decide on the directions I should give Mr.

Reynolds regarding the height he was to cut the walls for the Map, and though there is no doubt that the original figures for No. 1 Map would not be suitable for employment to-day, they nevertheless did pass muster in those early days and even gained a modified certificate of accuracy. Here is how they got built up, and, to make things simpler for the reader, I will number my principal authorities (*A*), (*B*), (*C*), (*D*), (*E*).

(*A*) By the middle of the year 1926 the Royal Commission enquiring into the question of Trade and Commerce had issued the first volume of its report, generally referred to as the Balfour Report from the name of the Chairman, Sir Arthur Balfour, K.B.E. In this report was given a table headed, "Index Number expressing the Estimated *ad valorem* Incidence of the Tariffs applied to British Goods," and the detailed numbers given therein are significant. It would not be possible to use them as they are, partly because it would be difficult to relate their scale to figures given in certain other reports of a similar character; nevertheless they were of great value in giving (at the date of the report) the relative position of the various countries mentioned. A reference which gave the index number for the United

States was especially useful, as it helped to answer the question so frequently put to me, "How would the United States wall compare with those on your Map." Here are Sir Arthur Balfour's figures: Germany 10, France $12\frac{1}{2}$, Italy $15\frac{3}{4}$, Belgium $8\frac{1}{2}$, Spain $37\frac{1}{4}$, the Netherlands $2\frac{3}{4}$, and the United States 32, which latter compared with a figure of $13\frac{1}{4}$ for Canada. Most of these indices have by now altered somewhat, but there is no reason to suppose that the relative places of these countries have changed to any great extent; it must be remembered that my Map merely seeks to give the relative position of the various European countries, for which there is quite a fair amount of data available.

(*B*) The next report issued was the Layton-Rist Report, dealing with Austria's economic position in relation to the Succession States. I had not up to then come across it, but fortunately it was sent me from Geneva by Sir Eric Drummond, the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, and proved most useful. Mr. Layton, the Editor of the *Economist*, and M. Rist, a prominent French banker, had been deputed by the Council of the League to investigate Austria's at that time rather difficult financial and economic position and to report their con-

clusions as speedily as possible to Geneva ; it is in this report that these valuable comparative figures occur. There is a considerable difference in their size, as compared with those given in the Balfour Report, but they would obviously have been calculated on quite a different scale. Nor should it be forgotten that the Layton-Rist figures refer to the incidence of tariffs on Austrian goods, whereas the Balfour Report dealt with the incidence on British goods. The value of both these calculations lies not in the actual figures given, but rather in the relative position in which countries have been placed, the one to the other. For Germany, then, the Layton-Rist figure is about 16, for Italy 19, Czechoslovakia 26, Hungary 34, Poland 59, Roumania 24, Yugoslavia 34. For Austria itself the figure was calculated as being about 18. There was nothing much to be done with these figures as they stood, especially as it must be remembered that about this period some rather wild fluctuations were taking place in the European exchanges, but they were duly pigeonholed and ultimately did their part towards evolving a scale that would make some sort of show against the bombardment of Continental criticism.

(*C*) But the most important calculations are, and will probably remain, those issued from Geneva by the Preparatory Commission to the Economic Conference, 1927, and I make no excuse for dealing with these at rather greater length. In their original form they were worked out by a body of Geneva experts, under the directions of Sir Arthur Salter, and were the product of calculations dealing with forty-seven articles of general or common use. On issuing their preliminary report, however, the sub-Committee were so heavily criticized on the particular selection of the commodities taken into calculation that they decided to continue their studies on a list increased up to seventy-eight articles. It is on the latter that the final figures were produced. Even now there were still critics to be faced who, displeased and I dare say not a little surprised at the height of the index number attached to their own country, declared that the selection of the commodities upon which the calculations were made was quite arbitrary, and if they were to be really representative should be still further increased. I think, however, it will be admitted by the average person that the number finally employed was an adequate and fair total. I very much doubt if there are many

who could give straight off a list of articles of general use that made up the total of seventy-eight. Here it is for those who would like to see what such a list consists of :

I. Foodstuffs

1. Wheat.
2. Wheat flour.
3. Oats.
4. Rye.
5. Sugar, refined and unrefined.
6. Butter.
7. Cheese.
8. Chocolate.

II. Raw Materials

9. Cotton.
10. Wool.
11. Silk.
12. Pig iron.
13. Raw steel.
14. Copper, pig.
15. Lead, pig.
16. Superphosphate of lime.
17. Sulphate of ammonia,

III. Semi-Manufactured Goods

18. Artificial silk.
19. Benzine.
20. Pulp.
21. Cotton yarn, unbleached.
22. Cotton thread.
23. Woollen yarn, carded, unbleached.
24. Worsted yarn.
25. Hemp yarn.
26. Linen yarn.
27. Sole leather.
28. Wooden planks planed, soft wood.
29. Sleepers.
30. Iron wire.
31. Iron bars.
32. Iron sheets.
33. Rails.
34. Tinned plate.
35. Copper wire.

IV. Manufactured Goods

36. Cotton piece goods, unbleached, undyed.
37. Cotton piece goods, bleached, undyed.
38. Cotton piece goods, bleached, dyed.
39. Woollen tissues.
40. Woollen knit goods.
41. Jute piece goods.

42. Velvet and plush (silk) (exclusive of ribbons, etc.).
43. Patent leather.
44. Gloves of leather.
45. Boots and shoes of leather.
46. Furs, dressed.
47. Outer tyres.
48. Inner tubes.
49. Veneers.
50. Wallpaper.
51. Printing paper.
52. Films (cinema), unused.
53. Hats for men.
54. China.
55. Window and plate glass.
56. Hollow glass, moulded.
57. Electric motors.
58. Typewriters.
59. Cutlery.
60. Textile machinery.
61. Locomotives.
62. Motor-cars.
63. Sewing machines.
64. Ploughs and ploughshares.
65. Thrashing machines.
66. Aluminium hollow-ware.
67. Telephones.
68. Electric lamps.
69. Upright pianos.

70. Watches.
71. Carbonate of soda.
72. Nitrate acid.
73. Sulphuric acid.
74. Glycerine.
75. Coal-tar dyes.
76. Soap.
77. Boilers.
78. Trucks.

The conclusions worked out by the Preparatory Commission were obtained not by one, but by several methods, which they named Methods A, B 1, B 2, B 3, and to the indices table thus obtained they further added several pages of qualifying notes. Though very interesting to the economist or to anybody enamoured of figures, the detailed description of these methods would probably be considered rather too technical and perhaps a little fatiguing by the general reader. Yet it seems a pity that this treatise, chiefly the work of a brilliant economist, Mr. Loveday, should remain buried in its Geneva pigeon-hole. I am therefore including it with its preface in this chapter, but in order to save the G.R. the trouble of seeing how much he has to skip, I will place it by itself at the end. On the

other hand, it will be suitable here to give the average figure evolved for each country out of these four methods, A, B 1, B 2, B 3, and the reader will then be able to add them to the structure that is being built up, of which (*A*) and (*B*) already form a part. Taking the average of the five columns (headed 1925) in the Geneva table, Austria's figure comes out at 13·2, Belgium 10, Czechoslovakia 20·6, Denmark 7, France 14, Germany 14·2, Hungary 23, Italy 17·2, Netherlands 4·4, Poland 24·4, Spain 40, Sweden 12·8, Switzerland 11·2, Yugoslavia 22, United Kingdom 5. In this table we again get a glimpse of the American (1925) figure, and it is interesting to note that the Geneva index 34 tallies closely with the figure 32 given in the Balfour Report.

Many of the above figures are qualified in a subsequent page or more of notes written by the Preparatory Committee, and these qualifications were duly taken into consideration before the final scale for the Tariff Map was drawn up. For instance, one note says : " The Hungarian average rates have been somewhat reduced since 1925 as a result of the conclusion of commercial conventions "—and this eventually got interpreted on the Map by a figure of 19 instead of

the Geneva 23; and, again, "the German figures shown are like those for France, still too low. They should probably be raised by two or three points"; this is shown, but more tenderly, by an alteration in one case from 14 to 16·5 and in the other from 14·2 to 15·5. And as a final illustration of these qualifying notes: "The indices for the United Kingdom have little significance, for, the longer the list of commodities taken as a sample, the lower the resulting index." I may as well add this further note about the Swiss figure: "The results for Switzerland obtained from Method A are too low, the list of commodities being too short for the purpose of the somewhat exceptional tariff schedule in force in that country."

About no country was the Geneva Commission more definite than about Spain, and I will quote here two of their conclusions as a justification for the somewhat high wall that surrounds Spain, but which on the Map is really a comparatively mild affair if it is contrasted with the considered judgment of the Geneva experts. I might say that during the last two years I have always been very careful to collect any references to Spanish tariff questions that may have appeared in the Press, because I have felt

that they might come in very useful to back up the Preparatory Committee's figures. I believe that I have about three pages of confirmatory cuttings ready for the day when I am put up in front of a Spanish firing party. One day I may be recognized in Madrid as quite a mild calumniator compared to the Geneva Committee that is responsible for the following additional notes on the Spanish Tariff in its report :

23. With these considerations in mind, it is possible to group the countries roughly according to the approximate height of their respective tariffs in 1925 : (*a*) Tariff indices of over 40 per cent. : Spain. (*b*) Tariff indices of over 25 per cent. : United States of America. (*c*) Tariff indices, etc., down to (*g*).

24. If, instead of the general indices, those for manufactured commodities only be taken, a very different picture is obtained for this year. (*a*) Tariff indices on manufactured articles of over 40 per cent. : Spain. (*b*) Tariff indices on manufactured articles of 35 to 40 per cent. : United States of America. (*c*) Tariff indices, etc., down to (*h*), which reads : Tariff indices on manufactured articles under 10 per cent. : The Netherlands, the United Kingdom.

I could give many further interesting items from this Report, but as I do not wish to lengthen this chapter unduly, I will refer my readers to the report itself, which will certainly repay study.

(*D*) At the opening of the Economic Conference in May 1927, I had just installed the large Map on the Quai du Mont Blanc and, wandering amongst that large gathering of economists, I was enduring prolonged bouts of the zero-hour feeling when a parcel was delivered at my hotel. It contained a presentation copy from Herr Richard Riedl, an Austrian ex-Minister, of the famous report prepared by an Economic Commission in that country on the tariff situation in Europe. In the introduction, after references to the Layton-Rist and Balfour Reports, I read : .

" Zusammen mit auderen Ermittlungen wurden diese beiden Berechnungen im Jahre 1926 von Sir Clive Morrison-Bell zu dem interessanten Versuche einer plastichen Darstellung der die eingelnen Staaten Europas umgebenden Zollmauern benützt."

I referred above to the fact that the Geneva Commission had extended its researches that began with forty-seven articles

to seventy-eight, and these calculations occupied the Commission for many months. It will be appreciated therefore what a monumental work had been accomplished by Herr Riedl's Commission, which worked out its calculations referring to fourteen different European countries on no less than 402 commodities. These pages of calculations in small print would no doubt have choked off any but the greatest glutton for figures, and perhaps Herr Riedl had this in mind in drawing up his report, for the whole result was summarized in a very simple and clear manner on a map which showed by a method of shading the tariff percentages for each country. I naturally turned at once to this Austrian map to see how its conclusions compared with my own and was delighted to find that, with one exception, namely Roumania, the relative order in which the countries had been placed on both maps was exactly the same. I felt very reassured by this unexpected production, which gave so much moral support to my own efforts, and after a line of thanks for my presentation copy, I hurried off to paste a copy of Herr Riedl's map conspicuously on the walls of my little pavilion.

(*E*) About two days later appeared the

report of a Hungarian Commission which had been studying this question under the chairmanship of Comte Jan Hadik. A friendly reference to " la Carte Connue de Sir Clive Morrison-Bell " appeared in some introductory passages that also dealt with the Riedl and Layton-Rist reports. But Comte Jan Hadik wasted very little time on preliminaries. He at once came out with his main thesis that these reports were of little value, in that it was quite beyond the bounds of possibility to express this tariff problem by any one series of figures. There were a hundred items that differentiated the problem in one country from that of another, and by no manner of means could the varying factors or conditions be so co-ordinated as to give any value or significance to a numerical standard. In a certain sense I found myself agreeing with this uncompromising Count, for, considered as data for a commercial transaction or a business deal, a single figure for any one country would certainly have no significance ; one could quite easily imagine a case where one article might be admitted free, while in another some commodity might be involved with a duty of 20 per cent. or thereabouts. But when Comte Hadik, in arguing against the Geneva Report, said

that it could not be done, there seemed to be two perfectly complete answers: (*a*) that it actually had been done, viz. the Geneva and other reports, and (*b*) that if it had not been, then it was really high time that someone made an effort to do it, for, without some comparative method of stating the general problem, it hardly looked as if any forward steps would ever be taken. There can be little doubt that if they were based on a sufficient number of articles in general use, calculations could be worked out that would place countries adequately and sufficiently accurately in their relative tariff position, and this is all that anybody has so far claimed to do.

It might be wondered, then, how I am able to place this critical Hadik Report under the letter (*E*) in my list of supporting authorities, but the justification appears towards the end of Comte Hadik's report. For after going through page after page of very damaging criticism, I came upon a passage which in its turn actually sought to place the various European countries in their relative order as viewed by the Hungarian Commission, and it was satisfactory to find that, except in one or two unimportant details, the order in which the countries were placed

by Comte Hadik coincided exactly with the order I had got them on the Map. So it appeared that countries could be placed in a relative order, after all! But that was all that the Tariff Map itself claimed to do, frequent reminders being issued that the numbers attached to the various countries had no significance in themselves but were merely to be considered as relative. Thus, at the very commencement of the Economic Conference, yet another authority cropped up reinforcing the calculations on which the Map was relying to face its first big test, and its stock accordingly went up.

Besides the five authorities quoted above, there were numerous trade and consular reports which I studied, and I also had many opportunities of consulting the Board of Trade and the Department of Overseas Trade. Taken as a whole, the lower figures as given in the Geneva Report (*C*) have been slightly raised, and the higher ones shaded off, from which it happens that a total of 239 in the Geneva Report becomes 228·5 when translated into the total on the Map. The average figure for all the walls shown on the Map is 15·1. I had to decide on the particular system of measurement to be employed for the walls, and chose the French

millimetre. But with the millimetre some of the smaller walls, for instance, Holland with her figure of 8, would scarcely be visible ; so for the purpose of better representation my whole table of figures has been multiplied by the coefficient 3. This figure, it is claimed, gives a fair harmony between the area of the different countries and the height of their surrounding walls ; consequently Albania's 15 appears on the Map as 45 millimetres, Belgium's 12 as 36 millimetres, and so on. Before concluding, it must be repeated, quoting the words of the Geneva Report, that the figures in themselves have no significance, but must be considered as merely relative, the one country with another. In other words, the Map attempts to give a bird's-eye view of Economic Europe.

As indicated above in this chapter, I am adding here the Report of the Preparatory Committee for the World Economic Conference, which is published under the title " Tariff Level Indices." The preface to this document is so interesting that I have included it as well. This question is also dealt with by Mr. A. Loveday in an extremely valuable paper that he read before the Royal Statistical Society on the " Measurement of Tariff Levels," which will be found in Volume 92

of that Society's *Journal*. Though probably no more important treatise has ever been published on this question, I think I should make it clear that it may be rather more to the taste of the student than of the general reader, as the following extract may indicate :

" The above formula, it may be remarked in passing, gives results identical with those which would be obtained from employing absolute full value weights and *ad valorem* duties. For were this done the price factor would cancel out. Thus if x is the specific duty, p the price and q the quantity, then the *ad valorum* duty weighted by full values would be

$$\frac{x}{p} \times qp = xq.$$

If variable weights are preferred, the formula

$$\sqrt{\frac{\Sigma x_1 q_0}{\Sigma x_0 q_0} \times \frac{\Sigma x_1 q_1}{\Sigma x_0 q_1}} \text{ or } \frac{\Sigma(q_0 + q_1)x_1}{\Sigma(q_0 + q_1)x_0}$$

can probably with advantage be employed."

It may be convenient here to give the relative scale of the tariff walls as they appear to be in 1929. They differ to some extent from those given by earlier investigators in 1925, on which my original Map was chiefly founded, but the passage of time with its trade treaties and similar

arrangements has naturally modified many calculations made in the years immediately following the conclusion of peace.

Albania	15	Latvia	15·5
Austria	14	Lithuania	15
Belgium	12	Italy	16
Bulgaria	17	Netherlands	8·5
Czechoslovakia	18	Norway	13
Denmark	10	Poland	21
Esthonia	15·5	Portugal	15·5
Finland	14	Roumania	20·5
France	16·5	Russia	?
Germany	15·5	Sweden	13·5
Great Britain	8·5	Switzerland	12
Greece	15·5	Spain	25
Hungary	18·5	Turkey	16
Ireland	13	Yugoslavia	19

TARIFF LEVEL INDICES

Preface

In this memorandum an attempt is made to measure the "level" of certain customs tariffs in the years 1913 and 1925. The exact meaning attributed to the term "level of tariffs" and the statistical processes employed are explained in the introductory paragraphs. It is necessary in this preface to record the origin of this document, indicate its contents, and summarize the observations which have been received during the course of the work with reference to the methods employed.

The Preparatory Committee for the World Economic Conference, at its first meeting in April–May 1926, recommended that "the Chairman of the Commission C, together with such persons as he might ask to assist him, be asked to determine what information should be obtained for the purposes of that part of the draft programme which dealt with commercial matters." The Chairman, Professor Allyn Young, accordingly, when laying down the plan of documentation, requested the Secretariat to make a statistical enquiry into the level of tariffs.

Before beginning the work, the Secretariat submitted to Professor Allyn Young himself and to Mr. W. T. Layton, as experts in statistical problems, proposals concerning the methods which should be adopted, and these proposals were approved.

The provisional results obtained from the first preliminary study of the question were submitted to the Preparatory Committee at its second meeting in November 1926, and led to a considerable amount of discussion. This discussion dealt both with the question of the desirability of attempting such a study and publishing the results obtained and with the technical, economic, and statistical principles involved.

It was finally decided that the Secretariat should continue the work with which it had been charged, that the provisional report

should be circulated to certain members of the Preparatory Committee for their observations on the theoretical problems which arose for solution, and that these observations should be published together with the final results obtained.

This procedure has accordingly been adopted. The observations received are given *in extenso* in Annex III. The amount of work involved by an analysis of this sort, however, is very considerable, and it was necessary for the Secretariat to start upon it at once and in anticipation of several of the replies which are now published. But the defects in the original document, which were largely due to the fact that, within the time available, it was only possible to obtain results at all if the enquiry were strictly limited in scope, were obvious enough, and nearly all the suggestions on which there is agreement between the different members of the Committee had in fact been acted upon.

No great advantage would be gained by repeating here all the observations made and reproduced in Annex III when those observations refer to remarks made in the preliminary draft document and now suppressed or to shortcomings in the scope of that document which have now been made good. It is desirable, however, to summarize the more important points raised and

to explain their bearing upon the results reached. These points are considered as far as possible in the order which is adopted in the exposition of the methods employed, given in later sections of this memorandum.

In order to render their purport clear, however, it is necessary to record here very briefly the two systems of measurement employed. Under Method A, a list of seventy-eight commodities (or groups of commodities) has been compiled and the average import value of each commodity (or group of commodities) in the country whose tariff it was intended to measure has been ascertained. The tariff rate applicable to each commodity or group of commodities was then calculated and expressed as a percentage of the price. Thus, all specific duties were converted into *ad valorem* duties. The unweighted arithmetic mean of the percentages was then calculated.

Under Method B, fourteen export countries were selected and for each country a list of approximately twenty of its most important representative, easily definable export articles constructed. The export price of each article was then ascertained and the duty imposed by the country whose tariff was being measured was calculated in the same manner as for Method A. An average was then struck of the calculated *ad valorem* rates.

(*a*) *List of Commodities*

The original draft study was confined almost wholly to an analysis of the duties on manufactured and semi-manufactured products, and it was pointed out that this limitation resulted in the indices of countries which imposed heavy duties on agricultural products being unrepresentative. In the Italian observations, which contain the most comprehensive argument received on the whole problem under discussion, attention is drawn to this fact and also to the shortness of the list of commodities which was employed as a basis for the first of the series of indices.

With the additional time now available, it has proved possible both to add raw materials and foodstuffs and to raise the number of the commodities considered in the first of the two methods employed from 47 to 78, and in the second from 136 to 278.

Further, two indices are now shown, one for all commodities and a second for manufactured articles only. It is remarked in the Italian communication that " any estimates of the degree of protectionism represented by tariffs would require an accurate examination of the nature and extent of the duties on products according to the stages in the processes of manufacture reached by any given commodity." The question of the degree of protectionism is touched upon

again later (page 141); but this particular problem of the division of the commodities into groups according to their stage of manufacture is an important one.

In the Belgian observations, it is suggested, first, that separate indices for four of the main groups of commodities adopted in the International Classification for Trade Statistics should be calculated, and, secondly, that a series of indices for a selected number of industries should be computed. The groups of the International Classification alluded to are (I) Live animals, (II) Foodstuffs and beverages, (III) Raw materials and semi-manufactured products, (IV) Manufactured articles.

It had been hoped that it might prove possible to calculate separate indices for the last three of these groups. But this procedure proved impracticable, as it was not possible to obtain a sufficiently long list of commodities for each of these several groups to avoid the danger of the results obtained being seriously falsified by an error in a single price or tariff quotation. An enquiry of this sort is essentially dependent on the "law of great numbers"—on the probability of errors cancelling each other out when a sufficient number of data is employed—and scope must be given to the operation of that law if very serious mistakes are to be avoided. For the same reason, it is not considered

practicable to attempt a classification of the commodities by industries.

(*b*) *Prices*

In the Italian observations, attention is drawn to the grounds which exist for doubting the accuracy of price quotations obtained from the trade statistics by dividing the value by the weight of the amount of goods imported during a specified period. In many countries the values shown, especially before the War, were based, not on merchants' declarations, but on official valuations and were not necessarily exact. There is, of course, no alternative to the method employed, as price quotations for the articles considered, especially manufactured products, are only available in a few cases. But the objection is nevertheless an important one, and defective price quotations are likely to prove the main source of error in a work of this sort. The Italian commentator adds that " it must be admitted that the possible statistical errors, affecting as they do a large number of commodities and countries, may balance one another in the final results."

Such cancellation of error is in fact likely to be better secured under the second of the two methods employed than under the first, for under the first method the import prices of each individual country whose tariff is being measured are calculated for the purposes of

that measurement, while under the second method the export prices of a considerable number of other countries are taken. The particular objection to the first method lies in the fact that many countries have in recent years changed over from the system of official valuations to that of merchants' declarations. It may well be that the values shown in their trade statistics have been influenced by this change in administrative practice. It is probable therefore that in most cases under Method A the comparison between countries in 1925 is more exact than the comparison between years. It may be added in this connexion that the objection here considered applies equally to any other calculations based on the value of the trade statistics of these countries.

In the Belgian observations, the view is expressed that, for the purposes of Method B, import and not export prices should have been employed and, in the Italian note, that export price statistics " would appear to be unsuitable for determining the level of the duties." Under Method B, the prices employed for the measurement of the tariff of any country are the export values of a number of other countries. The objection to this system lies in the fact that the duty is not expressed as a percentage of the value of the goods at the frontier of the country importing them, increased, that is, since the

moment of their dispatch, by the cost of carriage, insurance, and freight.

The prices used therefore under this system always tend to be somewhat too low and, since the duties are shown as percentages of those prices, the resulting index tends to be somewhat too high. This objection is perfectly valid. There are, however, a number of reasons why, despite its validity, the system actually employed would appear to possess special advantages. In the first place, Methods A and B are intended to check each other, and it is important that a check should be employed, more particularly with reference to that part of the data, namely prices, where the risk of error is greatest. If the results obtained under the two systems are in fair accordance, but those from Method B tend to be slightly higher (on the average *circa* 8 per cent.), then there are reasonable grounds for presuming that the processes employed are scientifically justifiable and an allowance can be made on account of the slight and consistent bias which the utilization of export values has involved. Under the system employed, the check on the price factor is satisfactory, for under Method A, series of prices independently calculated for each country are employed ; under B identical series. Secondly, there are a number of reasons for believing that export values are likely to prove more

reliable than import, two of which have been mentioned above. The import values necessarily apply to a single State only, and, as we have seen, it is probable that, in certain cases, changes introduced in the manner of calculating trade statistics have affected the comparability of the values in 1913 and 1925. But there is no possibility of ascertaining the error to which such a change may have given rise. If, on the other hand, the prices are drawn from a number of different sources, as is the case when export values are employed, the chances of the results for any particular country being thrown out by error in the basic data are greatly reduced.

Further, a very high duty, or a duty which, without being very high, proves exceptionally effective as a barrier, may so hinder trade in some article that there are either no imports at all and hence no import prices, or only a few consignments which have entered for one reason or another at unrepresentative prices. As has just been observed, tariffs are likely to affect the import values of a single State more than the average of the export values of a number of States. When a country is successful in making the foreigner from whom it buys pay part of the duty which it imposes, import values will be low, and it is far more probable that that result will be achieved than that a duty will reduce equivalently the price of the

article in question when consigned to other markets.

(*c*) *Form of Average and Weighting*

The Italian commentator remarks that the use of the simple arithmetic average "involves the drawback that, if for special reasons a State applies very high duties to a single commodity or a small number of commodities of minor importance in its trade and production, it will have to be represented as having a high average even if, for most of the other commodities which are really important, it has only a very moderate protectionist tariff."

Two problems are here involved—that of the average and that of weighting. The arithmetic mean is, it is true, liable to be thrown out by casual high numbers and, in certain cases where the average was clearly rendered unrepresentative on that account, a commodity whose inclusion was originally intended has been eliminated. The particular merits of the geometric mean for the purposes of index numbers are well known, and it is not necessary here to argue the rival claims of these two forms of average.

The arithmetic mean has the advantage of being more readily understood, and its defects diminish when the list of articles employed is sufficiently long. It is felt that while, despite the very much greater amount

of work which its calculation demands, it would have been difficult to reject the geometric mean when the first list of commodities included only forty-seven items, now that it has been lengthened and covers seventy-eight items, the adoption of the simpler form of average may be justified.

In connexion with the question of the average to be employed, the German commentator remarks that, in the case of countries with very high duties on a few articles and none at all on the rest, no form of average can be struck. "Between rates of duty of 0 and $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent., no average rate can be calculated which can be looked upon as representative." Specific reference is made to the case of the United Kingdom, and it is indeed difficult to design an index for that country which is really representative or comparable with those for other countries. The main difficulty, however, lies in the selection of a representative sample of goods.

The question of weighting involves problems of considerable theoretical interest and importance. Under Methods A and B 1 no weights are employed. Method B 1 is, however, further elaborated and additional results are shown (Method B 2) by weighting each article according to its relative importance to the export trade of the country whose export values are employed for the

ascertainment of prices. It is suggested in the Italian observations that the relative import values of the country whose tariff was being measured should have been preferred as weighting coefficients.

The objection to employing import value ratios rests on the fact that those ratios are themselves directly influenced by the duties imposed. If a duty on any article proved to be prohibitive, there would be no imports and no weight could be given to it. Further, quite apart from this logical impasse, the fact that the import of any commodity into any country is small is no proof that that commodity is unimportant to the economy of the country in question. If the premise be accepted that weights should be proportionate to the importance of the various goods to the general economy of the country whose tariff is being measured, then they should be based on the relative values of the production or consumption, whichever is the greater, by that country of those commodities. Unfortunately, however, the necessary data for ascertaining such relative values are lacking for most countries. This absence of data and the practical impossibility of calculating a tariff index in this manner must not, however, be allowed to obscure the theoretical importance of the underlying conception of the problem contained in the Italian observations. In point

of fact, the whole problem has been approached from a somewhat different angle, both in the original draft and in this memorandum. The object here has been to ascertain the extent to which the "whole catena of goods normally entering into international trade" is subjected to duties in different countries. For this purpose, a representative sample of goods has had to be selected and each commodity should theoretically have been weighted in accordance with its relative value in world trade. These relative values are, however, again not ascertainable, and an attempt has therefore been made to obtain weights which may approximate to them by taking for a considerable number of countries the ratios of the values of each commodity exported from those countries. It was originally intended to go a step further and weight the results thus obtained by the relative importance of the total exports of each of the exporting countries considered to the aggregate of the exports of all these countries. This elaboration proved impossible of execution in the original draft, but has now been accomplished. But it cannot be claimed that, even with this elaboration, the weights employed are by any means perfect. In the German observations, the theoretical objection to employing trade statistics at all for this purpose is put in its extreme form. "In drawing up a

theoretical definition, it must be remembered that the employment of trade statistical values as a standard of comparison or as a criterion for the selection of commodities for the determination of a tariff level is not free from objection. The reason is that the trade statistics themselves are dependent on the customs tariff. If all the countries of the world had for one and the same commodity so high a duty that foreign trade in that commodity was entirely destroyed, this high duty would not come into evidence at all in a calculation of the tariff level based on the trade statistics." There would, of course, be no quotation in such a case ; but even if the duties were not so high as to be prohibitive, trade might be seriously restricted. We know that, at the present day, in certain articles (*e.g.* sugar) it is seriously restricted. In exactly the same way, all relative prices are affected by the particular obstructions to trade or production which exist at any moment, and the price of any selected article is to some extent dependent on the prices of other articles. Measurement of price changes need not, however, be abandoned on that account. In practice the influence of weighting on index numbers, when the list of items averaged is adequate, is limited, and the weights employed, though by no means ideal, are probably not unreasonable.

(*d*) *Observations of a More General Character*

In addition to the observations considered above, which relate mainly to the nature of the data or to details of the statistical technique, a number of suggestions and criticisms of a more general character have been put forward.

In the Japanese and the Hungarian observations, attention is drawn to the fact that trade may be hampered by prohibitions and surtaxes as well as by customs taxes.

It is suggested by the Japanese commentator that it would be desirable to show the exact duty imposed by each country on each article selected ; and the Belgian observations, as we have seen, contain somewhat similar, though less radical proposals : namely that a considerable number of separate indices should be calculated. All these proposals presume a greater precision in the data employed than is probably justified. A single inaccuracy in the official valuations used in the trade statistics of any country might result in a serious error in an index of, for instance, a selected industry, if the number of products of that industry on which the index was based was small.

The Belgian observations also contain a proposal that the tariff level should be measured by the simple process of dividing the total sum collected as revenue from

customs duties by the total value of the goods imported. This suggestion has in addition been put forward on several occasions privately to the Secretariat by certain members of the Preparatory Committee. The objections to the method proposed are, of course, well known and generally recognized. If a country imposed duties which were so high that no trade could take place, its tariff level, calculated in this manner, would be nil, as there would be no revenue and no imports. Further, quite apart from this logical *reductio ad absurdum*, the index of a country which made no effort to protect its industries, but endeavoured successfully to impose a restricted number of revenue-bearing duties, might well prove to be higher than that of a country whose tariff was specially designed to protect. Indeed, the two purposes for which a tariff may be imposed, the raising of revenue and the protection of a domestic industry from foreign competition, are necessarily and fundamentally incompatible with one another. To the extent to which a duty proves fruitful as a source of revenue has it failed to prevent imports. It is argued, however, that though these facts may be true, in practice the system of tariff measurement proposed gives useful results for countries in which the rates of duties are not excessive and the duties themselves are fairly evenly spread over the

various classes of goods in which trade takes place. In order to comply with the request which has been made therefore, the Secretariat has made calculations for a certain number of countries which are given in Annex II. It will be observed that the results obtained show a much higher index for the United Kingdom than for France, a higher index for Austria than for Germany, and for Canada than for the United States. All of these results are in opposition to ascertained and generally accepted facts.

The American observations are mainly concerned with the problem of the extent to which high duties necessarily result in effective protection. It is argued that the effect of tariff rates is dependent upon the condition of the industries which they protect and upon the extent to which the purchasing power of the people enables them to buy foreign products regardless of the duties; that the highest rates are not necessarily the most restrictive, but are levied on products of industries which are at the greatest disadvantage; that the height of a duty on a finished product may be due to the inclusion of a "compensatory rate" to offset a high duty on the raw materials; that "an old tax is no tax" and that as a result the protective power of a tariff wanes in time. The whole of this discussion is important in connexion with

the interpretation—as distinguished from the computation—of the indices published in this memorandum. The contention that the effectiveness of a duty for protective purposes is greater when the purchasing power of the population is small appears at first sight to involve a paradox, for purchasing power is primarily dependent on productive power, and that country which is most efficient and whose purchasing power is therefore the highest might be thought to require on the average the smallest degree of protection. But actually the factor which determines, not necessarily the average rate of duty, but the range of duties necessary for absolute protection—the difference between the maximum and minimum rates—is the degree of variation in the comparative costs of production in the country in question. When there is a great relative advantage in the production of certain commodities, a higher duty will be required on other commodities, if capital and labour are to be diverted to them, than would be the case if that relative advantage were less. A wide range of comparative costs and high purchasing power are not necessarily related to one another as cause and effect. But high purchasing power alone, independently of this question of comparative costs, will, of course, determine the effectiveness of a duty as a check to imports in the case of commodities

which cannot be produced at all in the country in question. The demand curve of a rich population is different from that of a poor. In this connexion it is important to distinguish between the effect of the duty on the country imposing it and on other countries. A high duty, as the American commentator observes, does not necessarily imply the effective protection of a domestic industry by the exclusion of foreign products. It may simply indicate a great relative disadvantage in the production of the article protected. Its effect on the foreign competitor may be slight therefore; but, if it is effective at all, its introduction does involve a new force in the protected country influencing relative prices and involving a pull on the productive powers of the country away from the equilibrium which previously existed towards a new equilibrium under which part of these productive powers are spent on the fabrication of that article; and the strength of that pull is directly measured by the height of the duty.

In considering the problem of what, in the observations under discussion, is called a " compensatory duty "—that is, a duty on, for example, a finished product to offset a duty on the raw material of which it is composed—it is necessary to remember that such a duty implies a double protection, first on the raw material and secondly on the finished

product. When raw materials or semi-finished products are protected, there is a tendency towards a snowball growth of all duties.

There is a further point which should be mentioned in this preface. Both the German and the Hungarian notes draw attention to the fact that, since 1925, there has been a reduction in tariffs as a result of special conventions. The present-day practice of enforcing a general tariff and gradually lowering the duties afterwards by special conventions almost inevitably results, in any recent year selected, being unfavourable to one country or another. Note has been made in the text and in the footnotes to the table of the influence of the particular period employed on the German and Hungarian indices.

GENEVA, *April* 1927.

TARIFF LEVEL INDICES

1. The origin, character, and object of this document have been explained in the Preface. Previous attempts have been made to measure the comparative levels of tariffs by means of index numbers. But they have as a rule been confined to the special problem of the incidence of tariffs on the exports of a single country. In this memorandum no such limitation is made ; the underlying theoretical conception of the problem is therefore

different. The statistical procedure actually adopted is explained in some detail in Annex I. But it is desirable to state briefly here at the outset what are the general principles and conceptions on which the work is based and what definition of the term "tariff level" has been employed for the purposes of statistical measurement.

2. Before entering upon these explanations, however, the reader should be warned against attributing to the results reached a greater precision or a more absolute character than can properly be claimed for them. The indices are indicative and illustrative; they refer to a particular conception and definition of the term "tariff level." They should not be applied to other and different interpretations of that term. A large margin of error must be allowed. The difficulties involved in the work, both theoretical and practical, are of a serious character. There is a danger that those difficulties and the necessarily limited extent to which they have been overcome may be overlooked by the general reader. Further, the student of these results should not attach too great importance to a single figure. The fact that the tariff index of any country in any year was a given amount is, of course, one to which a precise meaning can be attached. But it is likewise one which may easily be incorrectly interpreted. Much more important are the ratios which the

figures bear to one another. The primary object of the study has not been to show that any given tariff was at a given moment at an expressed level, but that it bore a certain relationship, first, to some anterior or subsequent tariff enforced by the same country and, secondly, to the tariffs of other countries.

3. The meaning of the term " tariff level " is not self-evident. It is necessary, therefore, to adopt a definition which shall be so precise in character that the object defined is theoretically measurable, and can be expressed in terms of a single figure. For the purposes of this memorandum, the expression " tariff level " or " height of a tariff," as a generic term, is taken to mean a magnitude which is equal to the average of the percentages which the duties imposed by any given country constitute of the values of the commodities which go to compose the whole catena of goods normally entering into international trade.

This definition is deliberately general and is meant to apply to the expression " level of tariffs " as a generic term and not to be specifically applicable to any particular adaptation or restriction thereof. It leaves thus for further definition the conception of the term, value, the form of the average, and the scope of the list of commodities which it may in practice be desirable to adopt.

4. It is clearly impossible to find the average

of all the duties imposed even by a single country upon all the commodities subject to international exchange. It is therefore necessary either to take a list of commodities which shall be a reasonable sample of the totality of commodities thus exchanged, or, alternatively, to restrict the enquiry to a certain type of commodities and take a list which shall be a fair sample of the selected type. In this memorandum an attempt has been made to construct lists of commodities which may be accepted as fair samples of the whole quantity of goods constituting international trade, and to preserve a proper balance between the main groups into which those goods are normally classified: (I) Foodstuffs; (II) Raw materials; (III) Semi-manufactured articles; (IV) Finished products. But this question of balance presented special difficulties.

5. Two systems of measurement have been employed, for which the data have been drawn from sources as independent as possible in order that the results might be used to check each other. Therefore, for each of these systems, lists of commodities have been drawn up by quite distinct processes of selection.

6. The first list consisted of 78 commodities or small groups of commodities, selected simply on the grounds of their general importance in international trade as a whole

and not because they constituted a high percentage of the exports of any specific country. The second list is composite. For 1925, fourteen countries were first chosen. About 20 of the most important representative articles of export of each of these countries, in so far as practical limitations permitted, were then selected. The whole list for this second method should therefore have embraced 280 different commodities. It is actually composed of 278 articles.

The complete list of articles has been used for all countries other than those from whose export statistics it was compiled. For each of these it was necessary to eliminate those commodities which had been obtained from its returns. The reason for this elimination is obvious. For its complete justification, it must be assumed that the rejection of 20 out of the 278 articles did not render the results incomparable with those which would have been obtained from the complete list. In order to ascertain whether this assumption was correct, special calculations were made for certain countries whose export statistics were not employed on the basis of 258 commodities, the reduction being made by random selection.

7. The second necessary step after the completion of the lists was to ascertain the prices of the articles selected. In the case

of the first method (Method A), the import values of each commodity in the country whose tariff was being measured were ascertained by dividing the total value of goods imported during the years 1913 and 1925 respectively by the total quantity.

In the case of the second method (Method B), the export prices of each commodity contained in the list compiled for each of the fourteen export countries were ascertained by a similar procedure. Thus, the export price from France of each of the twenty commodities of the French export list was calculated by dividing the total value of the exports during the year in question by the quantity exported. These export prices were then applied without modification to each country whose tariff was being measured.

8. Once the list of commodities and the prices were determined, it remained to ascertain the percentage which the duties imposed constituted of the prices taken. In the case of *ad valorem* tariffs, the published *ad valorem* rates were employed and, of course, the prices were themselves not required. When the tariff was specific, it was necessary to calculate the percentage which the amount of the duty constituted of the price of each commodity. This involved a very considerable number of practical difficulties, which could only be overcome by decisions more or less arbitrary in character,

by approximations, and by such appraisements as seemed to be reasonable. It cannot be hoped that these decisions, approximations, and appraisements were in fact in all cases correct ; but, as is indicated below, there are grounds for believing that the results finally achieved are probably, with certain exceptions, of approximately the right order of magnitude.

9. Finally, the arithmetic average of the percentages calculated in the manner indicated above was struck.

10. Method B has been further elaborated. Instead of taking the simple average of the percentages which the tariff rates constituted of the prices of the commodities considered, these percentages have been multiplied by weights which were themselves equivalent to the relative importance in terms of value of each commodity to the exports of the countries from whose export statistics they were extracted. The results are shown in the table in the column headed Method B 2.

11. These simple weights employed in Method B 2 are open to the objection that the trade of each country is treated as equal. In order to rectify this, a further calculation has been made, Method B 3, under which the weighted indices obtained from the goods selected for each export country have themselves been weighted with factors whose

importance was proportionate to the relative aggregate values of the total exports of the various export countries. This system probably constitutes the best measure. But as it could not be applied to 1913, Method B 1 must be employed if pre- and post-War indices are to be compared.

12. Methods A and B 1 have been employed for the years 1913 and 1925, the more refined Methods B 2 and B 3 for 1925 only.

13. Two sets of indices have been calculated according to Method B 1, the first showing the averages of the rates of duty imposed on the complete list of commodities employed, the second those on manufactured articles only. As the prices of 110 manufactured articles have been ascertained, there appeared to be no great technical objections to this second calculation. But the number of items in the foodstuffs, raw materials, and semi-manufactured lists has not been considered sufficient to justify the compilation of similar indices for them.

14. Before summarizing the results obtained, it is necessary to interpose once more a word of caution. Although the scope of the work has been greatly extended since the original draft memorandum was circulated to the members of the Preparatory Committee for the International Economic Conference, the calculations are necessarily still of a rough character. The results are

necessarily only of approximate accuracy. Had time permitted, many refinements might, with advantage, have been made. This is the first time that an estimate of the changes in the level of tariffs on so wide a scale has been undertaken. Many of the minor difficulties which arose could not have been foreseen and only became apparent when the work had reached too advanced a stage to render the application of the best methods for countering them practicable. But, in so far as possible, whenever there were good grounds for suspecting the accuracy of the basic data or for believing that the omission or insertion of this or that commodity would be expedient, special tests have been made with the object of ascertaining whether such inaccuracy as might be believed to arise from the simple maintenance of the criteria in use had any material effect on the final result.

15. Identity of the results obtained from Methods A and B 1 should not be expected.

In the first place, Method A gives two or more averages for countries with a dual or multiple schedule. Secondly, for it import prices and for method B export prices are employed. The indices obtained under Method B should tend therefore to be somewhat higher than the others. That this is not always the case is due mainly to the fact that the four groups of commodities of

which the two lists are composed—foodstuffs, raw materials, semi-manufactured articles and finished products—have not exactly the same relative importance in both cases. Both these causes have affected the Australian figures and in this case acted in a like sense.

The results obtained under the two systems are, however, in sufficient conformity with each other to justify the belief that the general picture of the situation which the table presents is not misleading.

16. A column has been inserted in the table in which is indicated roughly the changes in the rates since 1913. For this purpose the indices obtained from Method B 1 have been employed. The figures must be accepted with great reservation and do not pretend to be anything more than the roughest approximations. A large margin of error has to be allowed for in the indices themselves, and these errors may be magnified in the percentage ratios. These ratios have been taken to the nearest 5 (*e.g.* 135 is shown for 134 and 130 for 132) and are based in the indices before they were rounded up. They are not therefore identical with the results which would be obtained by taking the figures in the 1925 column under Method B 1 as percentages of those in the 1913 column. They should be examined with the actual indices in mind, for a high-percentage

TARIFF LEVEL INDICES[1]

	Method A.		Method B 1.		Method B 2.	Method B 3.	Method B 1. Manufactured Articles.		Approximate changes, Method B 1.
	1913.	1925.	1913.	1925.	1925.	1925.	1913.	1925.	1925 as % of 1913.
Argentine	—	—	26	26	22	22	28	29	100
Australia	11–13	14–19–24[2]	(17)	(25)	(23)	(18)	(16)	(27)	145
Austria[3]	18–22	13–15	18	12	12	12	18	16	65
Belgium	6	7–23	6	8	8	9	9	15	135
Canada	12–17–19[2]	12–17–19[2]	18	16	15	15	26	23	85
Czechoslovakia[3]	18–22	17–24[4]	18	19	18	19	18	27	105
Denmark	8	6	9	6	7	6	14	10	70
France[5]	14–21	9–31	18	12	11	12	20	21	70
Germany[5]	12–16	15–16 12	(12)	(12)	(11)	(13)	(13)	(20)	(125 ?)
Hungary[3 6]	18–22	19–22	18	23	23	22	18	27	130
India	3	13	4	14	14	13	4	16	360
Italy	—	16–18	17	17	15	16	18	22	100
Netherlands	2	4	3	4	4	4	4	6	130
Poland	—	24–28	—	23	22	21	—	32	—
Spain	23–30	28–30–81	33	44	44	41	41	41	130
Sweden	13	10	16	13	13	12	20	16	80
Switzerland	(5)	(9)	7	11	12	10	9	14	170
Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes	—	20–30	—	23	23	20	—	23	—
United Kingdom	—	—	—	(4)	(6)	(5)	—	(5)	—
United States	32[7] / 17[8]	36	33[7] / 16[8]	29	28	31	44[7] / 25[8]	37	90

[1] It should be observed that the results here given naturally differ from those previously distributed to the members of the Preparatory Committee because they refer either to all classes of commodities or to manufactured articles only. The earlier figures referred to semi-manufactured and manufactured commodities together.

[2] British Preferential Tariff, intermediate tariff, general tariff. The results for Australia under Method B, more especially B 1 and B 2, are too high, see page 152.

[3] Pre-war figures refer to Austria-Hungary.

[4] The average for the maximum tariff is, in point of fact, not applied in the case of any country.

[5] The present-day rates are higher than those shown for 1925. The lower-line figure for Germany for 1925, Method A, refers to the pre-October 1925 tariff. See remarks in text.

[6] The present-day rates are lower than those shown for 1925 (Method B). The lower figure in the 1925 column, Method A, refers to present-day conditions. See remarks in text.

[7] 1913 tariff.

[8] 1914 tariff.

increase in the case of a country which has raised its rates from a very low level may have less significance than a much smaller increase effected by a country whose tariff was already high.

17. The Hungarian average rates have been somewhat reduced since 1925 as a result of the conclusion of commercial conventions.

The conventional-rate average according to Method A refers to to-day and not 1925.

18. The French tariff was raised on April 6th, 1926, by 30 per cent., and these new rates again on August 14th, 1926, by a further 30 per cent. In addition, certain agricultural duties which had been suspended were reimposed and raised in the same manner as the others. On the other hand, the value of the franc is lower to-day than it was during 1925. If this change in value be taken into consideration, the augmentation in basic rates would amount to about 40 per cent. But during 1926, France concluded a number of commercial conventions which have lowered her average applied duties. In these circumstances, it is not possible to estimate the exact amount by which her tariff level has been raised. But it is certainly higher than it was in 1925.

19. The German index for 1925 (Method B) is an average of the old and new duties. The latter were introduced in October of

that year and were appreciably higher than those which they replaced. Since October 1925, conventions have been signed which have reduced the index below the height which it then reached. But the figures shown are, like those for France, still too low. They should probably be raised by two or three points. The amount of the increase in the German rates is indicated by the results shown under Method A, where two calculations have been made—the first for the new, the second for the old tariff.

20. The import values for the Argentine and for Italy in the year 1913 did not prove utilizable, and no results according to Method A could be obtained for the Argentine in either year or for Italy in 1913.

21. The indices for the United Kingdom have little significance. The vast majority of goods are admitted duty free, but on a restricted number of important commodities high *ad valorem* duties (33 per cent. as a rule) are imposed. The longer the list of commodities taken as a sample, therefore, the lower the resulting index. No true sample can be obtained. Indices are shown for Method B only.

22. The results for Switzerland obtained from Method A are too low, the list of commodities being too short for the purposes of the somewhat exceptional tariff schedule in force in that country.

23. With these considerations in mind, it is possible to group the countries roughly according to the approximate height of their tariffs in 1925.

(*a*) Tariff indices of over 40 per cent.: Spain.

(*b*) Tariff indices of over 25 per cent.: United States of America.

(*c*) Tariff indices between 20 and 25 per cent.: Argentine, Hungary, Poland, the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes.

(*d*) Tariff indices between 15 and 20 per cent.: Australia, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Italy.

(*e*) Tariff indices between 10 and 15 per cent.: Austria, France, Germany, India, Sweden, Switzerland.

(*f*) Tariff indices between 5 and 10 per cent.: Belgium, Denmark.

(*g*) Tariff indices under 5 per cent.: the Netherlands, the United Kingdom.

24. If, instead of the general indices, those for manufactured commodities only be taken, a very different picture is obtained for this year.

(*a*) Tariff indices on manufactured articles of over 40 per cent.: Spain.

(*b*) Tariff indices on manufactured articles of 35 to 40 per cent.: United States of America.

(*c*) Tariff indices on manufactured articles of 30 to 35 per cent.: Poland.

(*d*) Tariff indices on manufactured articles of 25 to 30 per cent. : Argentine, Australia, Czechoslovakia, Hungary.

(*e*) Tariff indices on manufactured articles of 20 to 25 per cent. : Canada, France, Germany, Italy, the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes.

(*f*) Tariff indices on manufactured articles of 15 to 20 per cent. : Austria, Belgium, India, Sweden.

(*g*) Tariff indices on manufactured articles of 10 to 15 per cent. : Denmark, Switzerland.

(*h*) Tariff indices on manufactured articles under 10 per cent. : the Netherlands, the United Kingdom.

25. In most countries the duties on manufactured articles have been increased much more than those on agricultural products. Indeed, in a number of cases, even when the general level of the tariff has been raised, agricultural duties have been lowered. As has been stated above, it has not been considered advisable to attempt to calculate special indices for foodstuffs, raw materials, or semi-manufactured articles. But, from the evidence available, it would appear that the Austrian, French, and German duties on agricultural products were much lower in 1925 than in 1913. In Germany, all duties on corn and meat were abolished after the War. By the October tariff, new duties

were imposed, but they are well below the pre-War rates. In Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Italy, and Sweden they have also been reduced somewhat. In India, Hungary, Spain, and Switzerland they have been raised.

The majority of countries, but not India and Spain, have also reduced their duties on semi-manufactured products. Duties on raw materials throughout the world are low and the cases in which they have been raised are rare. They have in many cases been lowered. The increase in average duties which has been effected since 1913, therefore, is due in the majority of cases wholly to the imposition of higher rates on finished manufactured articles.

CHAPTER XI

AMERICA

Most people in England would be surprised to hear that America takes any interest in this European question or in the Map, for the commonly held idea about America is that she is a country that has surrounded herself with enormously high tariff walls, and is determined to keep everything out. Yet there appear to be many over there who hold the opposite views, and with these, by a curious chain of circumstances, I got into touch. Shortly after the Map had been on view at the Bank of England, a former Member of the House of Commons wrote and asked me if I could let him have a photograph of the Map, as he wished to send it out to America to a friend of his in New York, Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, the President of Columbia University, who was very much interested in all economic questions. I sent the photograph along, and when, during the summer of the following year, I happened to notice in one of the daily

papers that Dr. Butler was over in London, staying at the Berkeley Hotel, I wrote him a letter asking him if he would care to come and see the Map from which the photograph that had been sent him was taken. Dr. Butler replied that it would interest him very much to see it, so I had the large copy laid out ready for him one morning on the dining-room table. Dr. Butler surprised me by telling me that he had done a great deal of advocacy for the Map in America, and that he had had the photograph reproduced and circulated to about 1,500 American papers. I happened myself to know of one of these papers, because I had come across it a few months previously by a curious chance. I was out on one of my many visits to Geneva, and on the way to the Secretariat with the Map one morning I stopped at a barber's shop. Reclining on the chair, being shaved, was a man reading an American newspaper, in which to my surprise I could see reproduced a full-page illustration of my Tariff Map. When finished, I asked him if he would let me have a look at his paper—it was the *New York Times*—as I was interested in the illustration on the front page. "Why, sure," said he, handing it over, and I then explained to him that my reason for wanting

to see the paper was that the original of the picture, about which he had been reading on the front page, was at the moment in the small case that he could see on that chair over there. I opened the case for him and pulled out haphazard Bulgaria. "Gee!" he said, "doesn't that beat it," or words to that effect. He said that I might keep the paper if I wanted it, which I did. This was evidently one of the 1,500 newspapers to which Dr. Butler referred.

A few months later, I was sent a copy of the *Saturday Evening Post*, an important American periodical with a long article on the tariff question, illustrated by a rather rough but striking sketch of the Map. I wrote to the Editor of the *Saturday Evening Post* and told him that I noticed he had published an article by a Mr. Dennis with which appeared a rather indifferent picture of the Tariff Map. Did he think that his contributor would care to have a good photograph of the Map, if I sent one out? This letter was sent on, and shortly afterwards I got a charming letter from Mr. Dennis himself, written from Washington and actually from the offices of the United States Tariff Commission, of which it appears he is Vice-Chairman. Here was a surprise indeed!

I hardly expected with my pre-conceived views on the American Tariff Question to receive appreciation from that quarter.

"I believe that I was one of the first in this country," Mr. Dennis wrote under date of February 6th, 1928, "to appreciate the significance and value of your Model as a correct visualization of the relative height of tariff walls. If you would be kind enough to send me the photograph I shall have it framed and hung in my office in the U.S. Tariff Commission."

A Daniel in the lions' den, surely, for the Tariff Commission, one would think, must be where those high tariffs are worked out, which come every now and again as such a rude shock to poor Europe. But perhaps, like with everything else, there are two sides to the tariff question even in America, and the Map may have supplied a want to the other side of the argument. A nicely mounted photograph was duly dispatched, and later on I received a letter of thanks saying that it was hanging up in the Vice-Chairman's Office between a signed photograph of Mussolini and one of the President of the United States. But I sometimes wonder what message, if any, it is likely to convey to the other side of the Atlantic. Are

tariffs a mistake, or are they not nearly high enough ?

In January 1929 I heard again from Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, who wrote that there was beginning to be discussion in the United States of the effect of high tariff walls in preventing a more rapid and satisfactory economic recovery and development on the continent of Europe, and that he believed that the time had come when it would be advisable to have a copy of the Model made, and sent out for exhibition in the city of Washington. There was naturally no difficulty about this, and I asked Mr. Reynolds—who was, of course, delighted to hear that his handiwork was to cross the Atlantic—to start on one of the large scale maps at once. When completed, it was duly shipped away on the *Berengaria* to the New York office of the Carnegie Endowment, and from there it went on to their office in Washington. The tariff question was a very live issue at the moment in the United States, and much discussion was going on in political circles in Washington, where a new Tariff Bill with much higher protection was about to be introduced. The Map accordingly would appear to have struck a favourable moment to make its bow in

Washington, and I rather expected to hear some echo of its arrival. But nothing occurred, and after more than a month had gone by without any news, I wrote to the New York office, and suggested that in the midst of the Tariff storm which, according to dispatches in the London Press, was now raging in economic and parliamentary circles the Map might arouse some interest. How would it be to inform the leading parliamentary protagonists on both sides of its existence, and invite them to come and inspect it ? This I believe they did, for the next I heard was that the Map had been removed to Senator Smoot's offices, and that it was expected that as soon as the new Tariff Bill came up for discussion, the Map might very likely be taken over to the Senate Buildings and placed on exhibition there.

I do not know which side of the Tariff controversy Senator Smoot is advocating, but I imagine that over in Washington the Map is most likely to be used to support the argument for a reduction of the tariffs, and that it will be pointed at as a dreadful example that the United States must not follow. Over here in England, as I have said in a former chapter, it can be used with equal advantage on either side of the question,

owing to Great Britain's peculiar position *vis-à-vis* with her European neighbours ; for instance, both the arguments, (*a*) our utter defencelessness when the wall is so low round Great Britain, or (*b*) the shocking example of tariff-ridden Europe with the exception of common-sense free-trade England, I have heard put forth with much eloquence and vigour when the speaker is declaiming in the presence of the Map. Anyhow, neither Great Britain nor any other country can contemplate with indifference an additional rise in the protective barrier round the United States, to whom such large annual payments have to be made somehow, and if the fortuitous presence of the Map in the Capitol over there can do anything towards providing an argument to those who are fighting to maintain the position of leaving well alone, if I may put it no higher than that, then I think it will have earned a good mark. It would be extremely agreeable to get over to the other side one of these days and come into contact with some of the chambers of commerce, bankers' associations, or similar institutions, but it is not easy to fit everything in, especially when one has the calls of a large constituency to consider in addition.

CHAPTER XII

BUDAPEST

If I were to include my visit to Prague in this chapter and so group these two capitals together it would only be underlining the effect that the recollection of these two towns has on my own mind, and for the following two reasons : (*a*) the astounding beauty of their situation, (*b*) their incomprehensible languages. Both towns bear a great resemblance the one to the other. A broad swift river with one or two magnificent old bridges ; a towering palace or castle on the far side with the old quarters of the town clustering around them, and then the more modern residential or business quarter on the near side of the river, with the Parliament buildings, railway station, and so on. In the evening, with the heights on the far side all lit up, the effect is wonderful and, on a warm June night, as it was when I was in Budapest, unforgettable. Then the language to a visiting foreigner is another link. It is a curious feeling to find oneself walking

about the streets and not recognizing one single word of any public notice, advertisement, or poster. The same with the newspapers. In most countries, in France, Germany, Spain, Italy, Holland, Belgium, one would generally at least be able to make a shot at what the article was about and perhaps recognize a word or two here and there. But the newspapers in both these towns must literally convey nothing, less than nothing, to the average tourist. Let me give a short example from each.

"Kéri Morrison urat, hogy Készitsen még egy térképét, amelyen az egyes államok behogatali tilalmai vannak feltüntelve, mert ezen a terkepen Magyarország a legalacsonyabb fallal volua felvéve, minthogy nálunk mái egyáltalában nincsen behoyatali tilalom."

That is from Budapest. Here is one from Prague which seems to me of the two almost more perplexing and difficult.

"V Kuloaru senátu je vyložena pověstná mapa člena anglické dolni Sn ěmorny, Sira Clivea Morrison-Bella. Je to veklá Europy, jak gi použivaji školy, jen sentim rozdilem že branica jednotlivych státiě nejsou prostou různobarevnu čárou, nýbý jsou tvoremy ruzně vysokými zdemi."

I wonder if a Hungarian or a Czech would feel so absolutely at sea in London as I did in Budapest and Prague. However, all this presented very little real difficulty, for everyone I met seemed to be a linguist, and English, French, or German would see you through in most places. The Hungarian Minister in London had been kind enough to interest himself in the programme that was being arranged, and I was looked after so well that I left feeling very much in my Hungarian hosts' debt. Before leaving London a letter and then a telegram had reached me from the Ministry of Commerce in Budapest asking me to wire the time of my arrival, but as I noticed that the train got in about six o'clock in the morning, I purposely did not send a reply. This little scheme, however, did not work, for when I got out of the wagon-lit, I found two officials from the Ministry waiting on the platform to drive me to the hotel.

The Map had a busy time and created much interest. Its first two days were spent in the Ministry of Commerce, where it was examined critically by the officials of the Department, and on its being taken away in preparation for the address I was to deliver at the Chamber of Commerce—a semi-

official body attached to the Government—I received a charming letter from the Hungarian Minister of Commerce :

" You were good enough to pay me a visit and to put at the disposal of the Royal Hungarian Ministry of Commerce your interesting Map of the European Tariff Walls. All the officials of the Ministry have examined your Map carefully and are convinced that your suggestive work will surely contribute to the lowering of economic barriers at which Hungary is permanently working. I wish that the action you started shall have full success."

The following day I went round by appointment to the Chamber of Commerce to see the building in which I was to give my address that afternoon, taking the Map with me. I was shown upstairs to the President's room, where I found what looked like a sort of board meeting going on, nine or ten gentlemen sitting round a table. I was introduced all round, most difficult names, of course, to catch hold of, and then invited to sit down. There was an awkward pause, something seemed wrong, the atmosphere felt chilly, nobody seemed to want to say anything. As a start I suggested I might be

shown the Hall where the Meeting was to be held, and could then see how and where the Map was to be placed. Then it came out. "The Committee have decided that they do not want the Map, though they are very anxious naturally to hear your address." But, I explained, the Map is the address, first, last, and all the time, there is nothing in the address really, except the Map. No, they had decided they did not want it. An ex-Finance Minister spoke up. Hungary was misrepresented on the Map: the Foreign Office had written me about the economic treaties that Hungary had recently made with her neighbours; her tariff had been considerably lowered; she was placed with a higher wall than Czechoslovakia, and so on. I listened politely to all this, but realized that without the Map the address would be a dull fiasco; therefore they must be persuaded to see reason, which meant at the moment my point of view. The ex-Finance Minister was still explaining when light suddenly began to dawn: he had got hold of some early figures, the very first ones, figures that had been scrapped nearly a year. I hastened to explain all this. Hungary on the Map was no longer standing at 23; she was now 19, practically level with the 1·85 of

Czechoslovakia. I had acted on the information contained in the communications sent me by Herr Walko, the Foreign Minister, and Hungary's wall had been reduced by nearly 17 per cent. to correspond with the new trade treaties. So far from my being there to criticize Hungary's tariff policy, as their spokesman seemed to imply, they could feel quite reassured on this point. It was the last thing I should dream of doing. They would find that I should have no occasion to mention Hungary's policy, nor the economic policy of any other country. I never did, it was not my business. I merely showed them a map of Europe, and left it to them to draw any conclusions they cared to. All this, though set down here rather crudely perhaps, was carried on very amicably, and we adjourned till the afternoon ceremony the best of friends. The black clouds that seemed to be hanging about had rolled away. My recollections of this ceremony are really among the happiest I have. Nothing apparently could have gone off better. I was rather surprised, when I asked them if they would prefer I should address them in French or English, to receive loud cries of "English" from all parts of the hall. They seemed to be able to follow

what I was saying quite well. You can generally decide whether this is so or not if you watch carefully the faces of your audience. One man came up afterwards and said it was the best English lesson he had ever had. The doughty champion who had been the Committee's spokesman at the séance in the morning, an ex-Minister of Finance, and now President of the Association of Banks, moved a very cordial vote of thanks, and some time later sent me a letter from which I should like to quote a sentence :

" You know I am always at your disposal, not only because for thirty years I have been an Anglophile, but also because you are right. I hope that your idea of three years' custom holiday will be a full success. It will certainly be accepted by the Hungarian Parliament."

A lot of this slight misunderstanding was clearer to me after re-reading Herr Walko, the Hungarian Foreign Minister's earlier communications to me when I got back to London, and after looking up an interview that had been given by Dr. Bud, the Hungarian Finance Minister to the *Sunday Times*. Dr. Bud happened to be paying a visit to London in October 1927, and in some

remarks that he had given to a journalist on landing my eye happened to catch the following sentence :

" Our adverse trade balance proves more eloquently than any assertions or plastic charts that, whatever Hungary may be doing, she certainly is not surrounding herself by high tariff walls."

I did not know to whom " assertions " referred to, but " plastic charts " could only refer to me, and no doubt Dr. Bud still had in his mind the early index number for Hungary, before her trade treaties had been concluded. So I wrote to His Excellency enquiring whether it would interest him to see the Map of the Tariff Walls during his stay in London. Dr. Bud came to tea one afternoon accompanied by the Secretary to the Treasury, and an Attaché from the Hungarian Legation, and after a very interesting conversation, he seemed to go away quite satisfied. While I was in Budapest, I went and called at the Treasury to pay my respects to Dr. Bud, and I met him again later, when he was good enough to attend one of the luncheons given by the Ministry of Commerce in my honour.

The correspondence with Herr Walko,

Hungary's Foreign Minister, began shortly after the Map had gone abroad for the first time on its visit to the International Chamber of Commerce in Paris, and the length of this communication and subsequent letters rather staggered me. I sent the letter to Mr. Layton, the joint author of the Layton-Rist Report, and asked him for his comments before I replied to Herr Walko, whom meanwhile I thanked for the honour done me in his having taken so much notice of the Map. Each time I sent an answer a reply used to turn up by registered letter about five weeks later, and from the general tenor of the Hadik Report that was issued later to the Geneva Conference, I rather suspect that Comte Jan Hadik and his Committee were not unconnected with the drafting of these replies. They were certainly very interesting and I was able to learn a good deal from them.

One of the difficulties I had during my visit to Budapest was to try and keep my kind hosts off the burning question of frontiers, towards which they seemed to be unconsciously drawn at all times and seasons. Not that there is not a good deal of justification for their doing so. One glance at the map will convince anybody how the natural

geographical frontiers seemed to have been outraged by the Peace Treaties, and something substituted in their place which looks far from the natural and obvious line. But, of course, I did not want to get drawn into any of these discussions. To have done so would have seemed to me highly improper, and in reply one day to a toast in which there was certainly far more anxiety expressed about Hungarian frontiers than about the state of my health, I had to jokingly explain that I found my spare time was quite sufficiently occupied with European tariffs without the addition of European frontiers.

The reason why this question was so uppermost in their minds was that my visit followed only a few days after Mr. Esmond Harmsworth's tour through the country. Great excitement had been engendered, some flags were still up and the shop windows were lined with photographs of Lord Rothermere. Hungary's neighbours were naturally watching what was taking place across the border with a good deal of interest, and a rather dangerous situation might easily have arisen but for the great tact and the clever way in which Esmond Harmsworth carried out the exacting programme arranged for him. I

asked someone who was entitled to give an answer what the Hungarian Government thought of it all, and he replied that officially they knew nothing about it, which I suppose was the only safe line to take; but naturally they were not shedding unnecessary tears over the fact that Hungary and her difficult problems were winning some sympathy abroad by being provided with a vast amount of free publicity. At any rate, this episode appears to have been a complete personal triumph for Harmsworth, and all friends of Hungary, amongst whom I should like to be numbered after their great kindness to me, must hope that some mutually agreeable *modus vivendi*, if not actual solution, may be discovered before long.

CHAPTER XIII

PRAGUE

One of the difficulties in describing my visits to the various European capitals lies in the danger of making them appear too much like one another, and therefore rather tedious to the general reader if he or she has followed me so far. Fortunately something different generally occurred, or I met with some novel experience, and Prague was no exception to the rule. The invitation to bring the Map to Prague came originally while I was in Paris in 1927, attending the Meeting of the Inter-parliamentary Union, described under the Map's second visit to the Senate. Czechoslovakia was sending out invitations for a Conference to be held the following year in Prague, and the Czechoslovakian Minister in Paris, who had invited several of us to a luncheon, informed me that the presence of the Tariff Map at this Conference would be very welcome. I might say that it was my general rule not to visit any town or foreign country without a formal invitation from

some responsible body, as I did not want it said, later on perhaps, that I had butted in. The only exceptions to this rule have been my repeat visits to Geneva. No one, I admit, invited me to attend the Economic Conference in 1927, and I doubt if anyone would have done so. I was a free-lance, rather suspect if anything, and I went there because I felt, after my first few experiences, that the Map contained elements of definite value, and that it would have quite as good if not a better effect on the Delegates themselves than most of the oratory to which they would be invited to listen. As a matter of fact, the burden of nearly all the Conferences held since the Geneva one in 1927 has been that the resolutions then passed have been completely ignored by the Governments that were represented there, and that nothing whatever has been done. This was the tenor of Mr. Pugh's remarks at the first meeting at Geneva of the new Consultative Economic Committee, a permanent body attached to the League, at which he was one of the British representatives. Mr. Pugh expressed his disappointment at the way in which the various Governments had treated the resolutions of the Economic Conference, to which, he said, they had only paid lip

service. I sometimes wonder whether one single word of all those speeches delivered in 1927 during those long three weeks is remembered, or whether the one abiding impression carried away from Geneva by the 300 Delegates and their still larger retinue is not the little walls surrounding their own and other countries on the Tariff Model.

The object of the Prague Conference, therefore, was to try and stir up the dying embers of the Geneva Meeting, and to discover how far any of the Governments were prepared to go in carrying out their Geneva delegates' recommendations. The Conference held its sessions in the fine old Senate building and lasted four days. I had taken the usual precaution of getting into touch with the local organizers, and obtaining an assurance that they would have a table or platform ready for me sufficiently large to take the Map. This was no easy job, as No. 4 Copy was about six and a half feet square, a very unusual size for any but the largest table. It was possible to join two or even three tables together, but this meant that they must all be of an exactly similar height, since the small differences in the height of the walls depended for their adequate showing on a perfectly flat surface. Notwithstanding

these precautions. I encountered in Prague a not uncommon experience. Ignoring my many letters—for I always found some excuse to write two or three reminders bringing in the minimum size of the table—I was met by one of the officials, who thought that as it was a question of a map, it would be best to hang it up on one of the walls in an adjoining passage. I had come across this bright idea before, but generally when I was exhibiting one of the small copies for which something at the last moment could always be found. My Prague Map had an area of over forty square feet, so was a difficult proposition to compete with at the eleventh hour. Fortunately I found a keen little secretary who could speak English, and we went off to discover a carpenter, who might be able to put together an emergency table of planks. Luckily one was found quite close to the Senate, and he quickly appreciated the position. There was nothing in his shop very suitable in the board line, but he suggested that if I did not see any objection to using some curiously shaped planks about six foot long, they would be about the right size and could be covered over with cloth. It appears they were the boards on which coffins were laid out upon trestles.

I was quite ready to use the coffins themselves, if only I could get all the tiresome preliminaries of setting up the Map out of the way before the opening of the Conference, and we all started back to the Senate, one plank under each arm. Another official by now had arrived, and he told us that he knew of two tables in another part of the building that would be quite suitable in every way when placed together; some attendants were dispatched to fetch them, and all was well.

The Map, it will be remembered, was being exhibited in the Senate. Before leaving Prague it was to pay a visit to the House of Commons, too. I had been provided by M. Masaryk, the Minister in London, with some letters of introduction to some of the leading people, including one to the Minister of Finance, Herr Englis. During my call at the Ministry of Finance, Herr Englis got on to the subject of the Map, and was talking about its possibilities for educational purposes when I asked him if it would interest the Members of Parliament to see it. He replied that it certainly would, or rather the Members of the Budget Committee that was then in Session, for the House itself was not sitting that week. If I liked he would

arrange about it at once, and, taking up the telephone, Herr Englis called up the Chairman of the Budget Committee, and the visit was soon fixed up. The upshot was that I was to be there with the Map, for which suitable arrangements would be made, at nine o'clock the following morning, and that the Members would welcome a short address on the subject of Tariff Barriers. It would have to be in French, as many of them did not talk English. So the next morning found me addressing this large Committee, which had adjourned, when all was ready, to another chamber. It was a curious and interesting experience, though not for the first time, this addressing foreign Members of Parliament in their own building.

I was asked numerous questions on concluding, which made the proceedings less formal and the whole atmosphere a very pleasant one. The Chairman of the Committee made a happy little speech of thanks, and said a few nice things about England. When it was all over, some of the Members helped me to pack the Map away in its two large cases, which were duly conveyed back to the Senate. The Prager journalists evidently thought this adventure somewhat

unusual too, for the *Prager Tagblatt* came out with large black headings right across one of their pages, " Ein Engländer in Budgetausschuss. Vortrag über die Europäischen Zollmauern," and went on to say that yesterday the Map aroused so much interest among the Delegates that Minister Englis has invited Morrison-Bell to give a lecture by means of the Map on European Tariff Walls in the Budget Committee at nine o'clock to-day. Dr. Benes, whom I sat next to at a dinner party that evening at the British Legation, told me that he had heard that the Members who were engaged at the time in examining the clauses of the Budget were much interested in the Map and were hoping that the day might come in Europe for a general reduction in tariffs.

It was rather a *bull* point, and attracted much attention at the Conference, that the Map bore the signatures of Dr. Benes, the Foreign Minister, and M. Jan Masaryk, the Czech Minister in London. This was quickly spotted at the Senate and aroused a good deal of curiosity, but the explanation was a very simple one. Down the margin of each Map is a list of the engagements where it has been placed on exhibition ; this forms a diary or, as I sometimes call them, " battle honours."

Monsieur Masaryk had been interesting himself on my behalf in some tentative arrangements for a visit (that did not materialize) to Prague, and when I noticed later that his Foreign Minister, Dr. Benes, was paying a short visit to London, I wrote to Monsieur Masaryk and told him that I should be very pleased to show his distinguished visitor the Map of the Tariff Walls if he would care to see it. They came one afternoon to tea, accompanied by Mme. Benes, and on leaving I asked these gentlemen if they would provide a new " battle honour " by signing the Map.

In February 1929 I paid a second visit to Prague to address a meeting of the Union Douanière Européenne and to present them, as I had promised to do, with a copy of the Map. I happened to strike Prague during that bitter spell of cold weather that spread all over Europe for about a month, and during my stay there the thermometer varied between twelve and nineteen degrees below zero. One morning the British Vice-Consul, who lived a few miles out of Prague, was coming to see me, but was nearly an hour behind the time appointed. He explained that the train had stuck to the rails, and that a fresh engine had to be sent out from Prague to give it the necessary start. Engines them-

selves were scarce, as they were freezing up or breaking down all over the country, and the railway authorities were enduring a regular nightmare. After my address to the Union Douanière, the Map was to be placed on public exhibition, and a small Committee, of which *The Times* representative was a member, was to make the best possible use of it for propaganda and educational purposes. The position selected in Prague for its first exhibition could not have been a better one—I might describe it as the local Swan and Edgar's—and there was always a small crowd round the window all day long.

Before leaving I had the honour of being received by M. Masaryk, the President of the Republic, to whom Czechoslovakia owes so much, if not everything, and I was amazed at the knowledge His Excellency displayed of what was taking place in England, and at his estimate of our public men on both sides. The Czechoslovakian nation must be looking with some anxiety to the time, which cannot be very long delayed, when their President will ask to be relieved of the heavy burden he has so long and so successfully carried.

CHAPTER XIV

BERNE AND BRUSSELS

THE visit to Berne followed shortly after the Economic Conference in 1927, and differed from most of the others in that the Map was only exhibited in one place, the Palais du Parlement, and consequently had not to be moved about to various buildings. This was fortunate, as I was using the large copy out there, which, though most effective, is very unwieldy. The authorities decided to place it at the foot of the Grand Staircase, as the position most convenient for the Members of either House, both of which were in Session at the time. The large bear in the entrance hall looked as though he considered the whole thing rather an outrage, but perhaps he was not so pained with the Map as with the fact that the Parliament buildings were thrown open to the public during the actual Sessions of the House. This unusual step was taken by the authorities, who published a notice in the official gazette, in order to give the general public

PALAIS DU PARLEMENT, BERNE.

as much opportunity of seeing the Map as its four-day visit would allow. I was presented to the President of the Swiss Republic, who was very complimentary, and later on received a letter from the President of the Chamber, who wrote :

" I feel sure that this Map, which aroused here a great amount of interest, will contribute to emphasize the resolutions passed at the World's Economic Conference and prepare the public opinion in certain countries for a more liberal conception of international trade, the first condition for the economical reconstruction of Europe."

Herr Schulthess, who was elected President of the Swiss Republic the following year, was kind enough to invite me to a small *déjeuner d'honneur* held at a well-known resort a few miles out of Berne famous for its cuisine, at which the Presidents of the two Houses of Parliament were present. I was glad to be able the following year to repay in a small way this hospitality, for looking up one afternoon at the Distinguished Strangers' Gallery in the House of Commons, I noticed Herr Schulthess, accompanied by M. Paravicini, the Swiss Minister in London. I asked them if they would come and have

some tea, and we went down on to the Terrace, which is always an interesting sight to foreign visitors.

My visit to Brussels, where I was to give an address to the British Chamber of Commerce, took place in December 1928, and was combined with an engagement in Paris on the way home, where I was to be the guest at luncheon of the Inter-Allied Press Club. I provided myself with two copies of the Map, as it had been decided that a copy was to be left on exhibition in Brussels, and then go on for a similar purpose to Antwerp, where it was sure in advance of a very sympathetic reception. The other I should want with me in Paris. Some busy days were spent in Brussels, and the Map was on exhibition four times. At the British Embassy Lord Granville had invited his staff and the Members of the British Consulate to come in after luncheon and inspect it, and I gathered from numerous remarks that the Belgian wall was not likely to be criticized by those with any knowledge of the subject as being unduly high. Recent tendencies in Belgian tariff policy were apparently causing some anxiety to foreign exporters. The location where the Map was to be publicly exhibited was well chosen, being the windows

of the offices of the Canadian Pacific Railway, which are situated in one of the chief thoroughfares in Brussels. I enjoyed very much the three days while the Map was in Parliament, a very fine building opposite the Royal Palace, as I was permitted to go in and out as often as I liked, and had the pleasure of meeting a great many of the leading men, including the Prime Minister, M. Jaspar, and M. Hymans, who is Minister for Foreign Affairs. It was obvious that the Members were greatly interested, though most of them with whom I talked referred with satisfaction to the fact that Belgium appeared to be a comparatively mild sinner amongst her sister States in Europe. I told them that I had been warned by those who knew that the Belgian wall ought certainly to have another if not two rows of bricks. Before leaving, I received a letter from the President of the Chamber which I shall treasure highly :

" Mon cher Collègue,

" Votre carte en relief indiquant par de petites cloisons entre les Etats Européens la hauteur des tarifs douaniers en vigueur actuellement, a obtenu à la Chambre Belge où elle a été exposée par vos soins, un sympathique succès.

" Certain d'être l'interprète des Membre de l'Assemblée qui ont eu l'occasion d' examiner cet intéressant et suggestif travail, j'ai l'honneur de vous exprimer en leur nom et au mien nos sincères remerciements pour l'aimable attention que vous avez eue de le soumettre à vos Collègues de la Chambre Belge.

" Veuillez agréer, etc."

My final engagement was the luncheon at the British Chamber of Commerce, which attracted more guests than the large room could comfortably hold, as the Secretary had not expected more than 200. The Map was well placed in an ante-room and had accordingly been inspected by all the guests before taking their seats, which saved me any long description. I much appreciated the fact that M. Theunis, ex-Prime Minister, was honouring the lunch, for there is no one who has worked harder and done more for this question during the last few years. It was M. Theunis who was chosen to preside over the World Economic Conference in Geneva. He has always in his speeches, on every public occasion, insisted on the necessity of travelling beyond merely the economists and of educating the public outside in these questions, claiming that nothing would

ever be done until there was some real urge from the different peoples themselves. When I referred to all his activities—" fit un bel éloge de l'œuvre de M. Georges Theunis aux diverses conférences économiques internationales," as one account put it—and remarked that in my campaign towards this end I was merely acting as M. Theunis' adjutant, I may claim to have brought down the house. Some of M. Theunis' success as a Chairman is no doubt due to his sense of humour. I remember his remark one year at Geneva when he said, " What a pity it is that your Map was not here last week while the Horse Show was on ; it would have made a fine steeplechase course with *la Russie pour le dernier obstacle*."

CHAPTER XV

VERSAILLES

ANYONE who is acquainted with Versailles, its wonderful gardens, fountains, and park, can appreciate the good fortune of the Inter-parliamentary Commercial Conference in having this spot allotted to them for their meeting towards the end of June 1928. True it is a little far out from Paris to go backwards and forwards sometimes twice a day, but this was a small objection to place in the balance against the amenities of this lovely old château when you once got out there. I believe the Conference owed its taking place there to the fact that the Senate, where so many of these international meetings are held, was being occupied at the time and would not be free until about a fortnight too late. I did not get to this Conference without some little difficulty, but I am glad that I made the effort, for the gardens were at their very best, and I shall never forget the beauty of that perfect June evening, when the French Government, in

honour of the Conference, whose delegates they had previously entertained at a banquet in the Galerie des Glaces, illuminated the fountains and terraces, providing a spectacle in those historic surroundings which is really unforgettable.

When I first read that this Commercial Conference was to be held, it seemed to me that it was just the kind of gathering to be interested in that series of questions that the Map so clearly portrayed, and I accordingly wrote to the Secretary-General, whose offices are in Brussels, offering his Interparliamentary Union the loan of the Map. After a considerable period of time, I received a reply that the Secretariat had consulted their French colleagues, who had come to the conclusion that since the Map was so well known in Paris, they would not care to put me to all the trouble of bringing it over. I replied that the Map could not be really considered as well known in Paris at all, and even if it was, that hardly applied to the Commercial Conference, of whose members not 5 per cent., I believe, would have ever heard of the Map, and certainly not 1 per cent. would ever have seen it. Would the Secretary-General therefore let me know to whom in Paris he had referred, and I would

make an effort to see these gentlemen the next time I was travelling through. This I did, and an invitation to the Conference shortly followed. I had no qualms about not taking " No " for an answer in the first place, because I felt convinced that I should be able to put before the Conference something that they would be genuinely interested in seeing. Certain tiresome but necessary arrangements as usual had to be made. The authorities at the Senate were ready to lend me the large table which had been used the previous year at the Meetings of the Inter-parliamentary Union, and I had to pay a visit to Versailles to find out where the Map was going to be located. I have learnt by experience that it is of no use placing it in some out-of-the-way spot, for delegates are only human and simply cannot be persuaded to wander off the beaten track, whatever inducement may be held out. The Map must be laid out right in the fairway, and care must be taken, where there is more than one entrance, to choose the right one, for otherwise the Map might just as well have been left on the other side of the Channel and much trouble saved. At Versailles it was not easy to decide on the right spot for a rather special reason. The Conference Hall

where the delegates were to meet is the hall in which takes place the election for a President of the Republic, and is under the control of the Parliamentary authorities, with whom I was told there would be no difficulty. But the broad passage or corridor which was the one the delegates would be most likely to use, and therefore an excellent location for the Map, was the property of the Musée Nationale de Versailles, and consequently under the control of an entirely different authority. Permission was never given, except under the most stringent regulations, to place any extraneous objects in the precincts of the National Museum. However, to cut a long story short, the photograph will show where the Map was finally placed, and it would not be possible to conceive of a more august position. In fact, when permission was finally received from the Museum authorities to exhibit the Map in the Vestibule Napoleon which adjoins the Conference Hall, I was sufficiently grateful and satisfied to place it in one of the corners. I considered that here it would be less in the way of the Delegates; also I did not dare, or rather would not have presumed, to advance it closer to that awe-inspiring masterpiece by an Italian sculptor, which I

believe is generally known as the Dying Napoleon. But objection was taken that the Map could not be properly seen where it was on account of the light, and once it began to get moved about it eventually came to rest, as can be seen, at the feet of the great Emperor himself, who seems to be looking down on the Map of Europe and to be saying, as he gazes at the tangle of tariffs and obstructions, "What a mess you moderns have contrived to make of my Europe."

I wondered if the same idea could be passing through the mind of M. Doumergue, the President of the French Republic, as he stood gazing at the Map. The Conference had just been opened in the adjoining hall, with the President of the Republic in the seat of honour, and on the conclusion of the ceremony, and before leaving the building, M. Doumergue had been conducted by the late M. Bokanowski, the Minister of Commerce, to the Vestibule Napoleon to inspect Europe's tariff walls. I happened to be still in the Assembly Hall, but an aide-de-camp was sent to find me, and I was duly presented to the President, who was good enough to make some complimentary remarks. I felt very much inclined to ask

E. Ribaud, Paris.

AT THE MUSÉE NATIONALE, VERSAILLES.

(Voice from the past): "What a muddle you Moderns have made of my Europe."

His Excellency if he received the same impression in the presence of that silent brooding figure as I seemed to experience, but perhaps it was just as well I confined myself to thanking him for doing me the honour of inspecting the Map. Presidents, after all, are human, and M. Doumergue, having got through the ceremony he had undertaken to carry out, and really on his way home, might very well object to being enmeshed in some metaphysical discussion about which he had not been duly warned.

Could a Napoleon, if such a figure is conceivable to-day, do anything to relieve the present economic situation? Would there be anything to be gained by reviving the Continental system, or reissuing a "Berlin Decree"? It is quite safe to declare that none of these easy short-cuts would be of any use to-day. The marching and countermarching of well-trained armies would settle nothing, but only make confusion worse; the legitimate heir to a Napoleon in these drab days, if one can somehow visualize an heir at all, is not a great general or some mighty and outstanding personage, but something much less romantic if more material, the almighty dollar.

CHAPTER XVI

A TARIFF HOLIDAY

After the Map had been on its travels for about six months, which included, amongst many other places, visits to the International Chamber of Commerce in Paris, to Geneva, to the Senate in Paris, our own House of Commons and House of Lords, it occurred to me that it would lose some of its effect if, while it was being exhibited, I had no positive or remedial suggestion to make. People might say, not without justification :

"Your Map shows the situation well enough, and after inpecting it we have obtained a very definite impression of the problem and its difficulties, but what is your remedy ? What do you propose should be done to alter or better the existing situation ? It is easy enough to show these high barriers ; what we should really like to know is, what ought to be done about it ?"

I expected that in Vienna, to which town I was shortly going, it was not unlikely that

I should be met with some comment of this kind, and it was giving me a good deal of worry that I should have no adequate reply. It was quite obvious that there was no immediate remedy to this tariff situation, nor was it any use trying to pretend that there were any short-cuts. It would be a long and toilsome business, taking years or even generations to put things right, and the only thing, in fact the best thing, I could do would be to admit straight away that I knew of no solution. Nor after three years of more or less intensive study have I got one now. The times when Joshua might have been so effective in this sort of business are unfortunately gone by, for tariff walls are more stubborn in their nature than anything with which that great captain had to deal, and though the Map could claim that it held up a mirror in which these walls could see for themselves their sinister outlines, yet it was doubtful if this did anything more than produce a fleeting blush. To find oneself in the position of not being able to suggest anything at all seemed to be rather an anticlimax, and it was then no doubt that the idea of the tariff holiday was born. I think that the first time it occurred in print must have been about

March 1927, on a leaflet that I prepared, giving a few headings for the address I was to deliver in Vienna. This leaflet was printed in German, so that it could be handed round at the meeting, the translation having been kindly undertaken by the Austrian Legation in London. The particular heading, which seems to have been more or less followed by the *Wiener Tagblatt* of April 2nd in their account of the proceedings, runs as follows :

" Wenn es ihm gestattet sei, einen Vorschlag zu unterbreiten, So wäre es der, einen Zoll-Feiertag einzufuhren, in dem Sinne, in dem dieses Wort vor einigen Jahren bezüglich Flottenangelegenheiten angewandt wurde. Wenn ein Uebereinkommen geschlossen werden Könnte, demzufolge während eines Zeitraumes von beispielweise drei Jahren die Zölle nicht erhöht werden würden, So wäre dies schon ein gewinn und weiteren Entwicklungen der Weg geebnet."

The idea was, of course, modelled on the naval holiday, which by now may have almost been by many forgotten. Some twenty years ago the chief rivalry in naval shipbuilding was between ourselves and Germany, whose fleet, under the fostering

hand of the German Emperor, was continually being added to, thus becoming a menace to our communications in the North Sea. It was the policy of successive Boards of Admiralty—very fortunately for this country, as was to be proved a few years later—to maintain the two-power standard, by which was meant that the British Fleet was equal in strength to the fleets of the two next strongest powers. How wise this policy was for the British Empire has now passed into history, but it can be realized that the paying of this insurance premium cast a heavy burden on the shoulders of the British taxpayer, who provided well over 90 per cent. of the total charge. When the Germans announced a new Naval law, to which we should have had to reply with a fresh ship-building programme, Mr. Winston Churchill, then First Lord of the Admiralty, proposed a naval holiday to his opposite number, Admiral von Tirpitz. The bargain was to be that if the Germans would cease building any fresh ships for two—or was it three—years, we would do the same. This sensible proposal was turned down by those in control of German high policy.

The tariff holiday is conceived on similar lines. It does not mean that Europe would

be free of tariffs during the "holiday," but merely that each country would pledge itself not to impose any fresh tariffs, not to put any fresh bricks on their existing wall. There would be nothing, of course, to prevent countries during this "holiday" period from knocking a few bricks off, if they felt disposed to do it. It would call a halt to the tendency of tariffs to be slowly but continually rising, and it seemed to be a type of proposal that might have some chance of being adopted. At the moment it was quite useless and futile to preach to European nations that they should start lowering their walls. This counsel of perfection would be quietly ignored, as, of course, it already has been. Nothing appears so often in the speeches of delegates attending international conferences than the complaint that the resolutions passed practically unanimously by the World's Economic Experts at Geneva in 1927 have been treated as a complete dead letter and that nothing of an ameliorative nature has been done. Nor will it be. An approach to Europe's tariff citadel will have to be made by slower and more deliberate steps, and the suggestion of a tariff holiday seems to offer the best chance. It is one of the few proposals that might secure in an international assemblage

a vote of unanimity. It commits no one to very much ; it does not ask for a reduction which nations would find it difficult to grant unless they were quite sure that their neighbours were going to simultaneously do the same, and, on the face of it, this idea has the appearance of being quite " safe." It could hardly be looked upon as much of a hardship[1] for Great Britain, unless we are to suppose that during the next two or three years there existed some chance, of which she was being deprived by this proposal of raising her present or of introducing new tariffs. Taking advantage, therefore, of the sittings of the Geneva Conference, I had some hundreds of leaflets explaining this " holiday " suggestion printed in English and French, and got them distributed to every Delegate and every newspaper representative at Geneva. Though I cannot find that any notice whatever was taken of this idea, it is possible that some seed was unknowingly sown there, destined to flower later on.

In December of that year[2] an International Conference to which I had been invited to bring the Map was held at the Guildhall, in order to " echo " the resolutions passed at Geneva, and to bring them to the notice of

[1] See footnote, p. 207. [2] 1927.

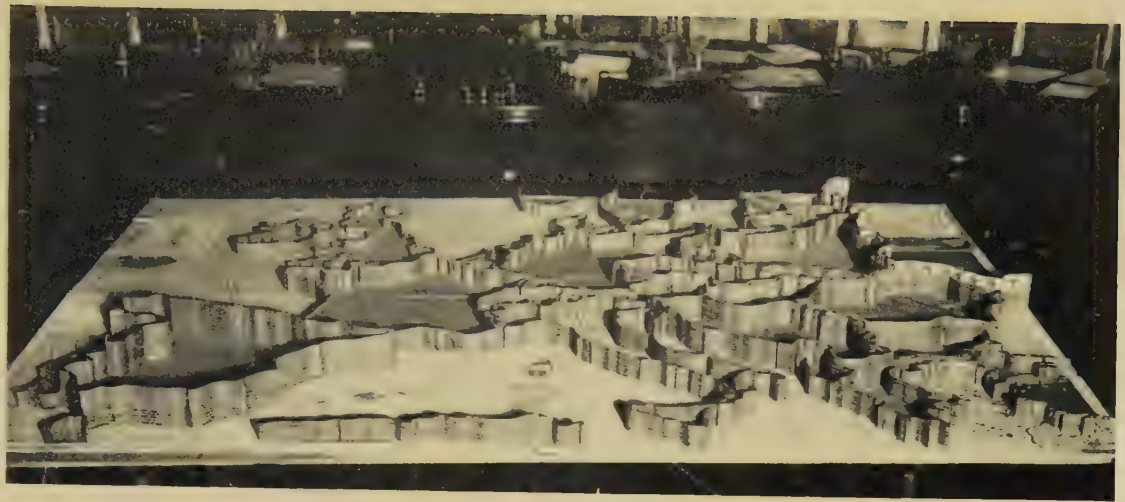
a somewhat indifferent public. The Map was placed in the Council Chamber, and later on in the week was removed to the actual Guildhall for the public meeting. Professor Gilbert Murray had written me :

" I was hoping that we might have the advantage of having your Map at the Economic Conference, and am most grateful to you for lending it to us. There is nothing that brings home so vividly to the plain man the general conditions of European Commerce."

And it is, of course, the plain man, the man in the street, who has to be reached in order that this great question may make any real advance. An appreciative letter from the League of Nations Union, which body had organized the Guildhall Conference, followed a few days later :

" The Union indeed considers that the exhibition of your Map was an outstanding feature of the Conference. In itself it preached the sermon of the Conference."

I had been invited to take part in the debate at the Guildhall, and found myself put down to open the discussion. Before resuming my seat I took the opportunity, as



IN THE COUNCIL CHAMBER, GUILDHALL. *The Times.*

there were a good many delegates from foreign countries present, of referring once more to the idea of a tariff holiday. I quote from the report of the Conference issued in the following spring :

" In conclusion, is there any solution to these trade barriers ? It is easy enough to talk about these difficulties, but it would be more useful to point the way to some remedy. I do not myself see any immediate solution, though I have got a constructive suggestion to make, one that I put forward last May in Vienna when addressing a group of Deputies in the Parliament Buildings there, and one that I respectfully put before the delegates of this great Conference now. It is the adoption of a " tariff holiday," using the phrase in the same sense as it was employed with reference to a " naval holiday " before the War. That is to say, get the assent of the different European countries, not to reduce their tariffs—the day for a general assent to that proposition is still in the future—but an agreement *not to raise their present tariffs any further.* It does not seem beyond the bounds of practical politics to get all European countries to agree to this for a period, say, of three years, namely not to increase their existing tariffs any higher than they were on a certain date, for instance the date of the Geneva Economic Conference,

and such a pact would in effect mean a period of stabilization. At the present moment, unfortunately, the tendency is decidedly the other way. It may be urged that this is no solution. I admit that, but a tariff holiday would at least be something gained, a first step, a jumping-off ground for something further, and I firmly believe that from this stabilized base, this economic harbour of refuge, results in the all-round reduction of these tariff walls would speedily begin to show themselves. But to make a real impression on public opinion, I must once more repeat that this Tariff Model seems to me to offer, if widely multiplied, the best and cheapest chance. I will conclude by hoping that it has done its work effectively, and been of some interest during the last two days here in London's famous Guildhall."

After paying visits to Budapest, Prague, Vienna, and Brussels, where, as was now my custom, I put before them this harmless and moderate proposal, and after contributing articles to the newspapers of four or five other countries, I became a little discouraged by the discovery that ideas ripen so slowly—in fact, they were not ripening at all. The seed had fallen on stony ground, the suggestion was quietly ignored. I remembered that I had in my scrap-book,

but undated, a short extract from a speech by M. Briand which I had cut out from *The Times* sometime in 1927, but I cannot say what were the circumstances of the speech in question or what the context. It carried a certain message of comfort now.

"You know what happened," said M. Briand. "Do not let us recriminate. Let us put questions of persons aside. There are circumstances which are stronger than facts, and ideas which may seem premature at a given moment, but which ripen. The thing to do is to wait."

NOTE.—This chapter was written in August 1929. More recent events will give rise to varying estimates in our political circles at home as to the possible "hardship" (see page 203) involved. I will not myself attempt to weigh all this up here. It would so complicate the simple issue of this book that it might not be possible to see the wood for the trees.—A. C. M.-B.

CHAPTER XVII

GENEVA ONCE MORE

As I generally counted as my starting-point the visit of the Map to the Bank of England in September 1926, the third and possibly last year of my campaign—for this sort of thing is expensive in more ways than one—was now drawing to a close. I decided that it would be well worth while to have a Map on exhibition at Geneva during the meeting of the Assembly in 1929, since many of the Delegates would never have seen it, and there was certainly no better opportunity of forcing this whole question of tariffs to the front than when all these gentlemen were gathered together for their three weeks' discussion. It is true that the year before, that is during the summer of 1928 and until the close of the Assembly, I had taken a Map out there, but it was not very well located for bringing it actually under the eyes of the visiting Delegates. Though I tried hard, I was unable to get it placed where I originally wanted to—not that I shall not

always be grateful to Messrs. Cook & Son for having come to my rescue after I had failed, and for having allowed the Map to find a temporary home in their well-known Geneva office.

What I had really been after was the show-room of the Automobiles Berliet on the Grand Quai. This establishment is situated about 100 yards short of the Salle de la Reformation, the meeting-place of the Assembly, and is thus on the direct route for all those who are walking to or from the Conference Hall. Messrs. Berliet, when applied to in the previous year (1928), did not see their way to allowing me to place the Map in their windows, as they were nervous about the effect their action might have on the Customs authorities, with whom they had a great deal of business and with whom they were on very good terms. They preferred therefore not to take any chances, and my request was politely turned down.

But in 1929, I determined to make another effort to obtain this extremely suitable site, and accordingly started early in the year to try to work things. If Messrs. Berliet were still nervous that their amicable relations with the Swiss Customs might be prejudiced

owing to a controversial display like the Map of the European tariffs, I must try and convince them once more that their fears were groundless. I accordingly wrote to the Swiss Minister in London, who has always been very helpful and sympathetic, and explained the whole situation, what I wanted and why I was refused. I felt certain myself (I wrote) that Messrs. Berliet need have no cause for any anxiety, but it might help considerably if the Swiss authorities could be made aware of all the circumstances and then be induced to write me a letter that this was so. After a certain amount of correspondence, I received just the kind of letter calculated to reassure Messrs. Berliet, to whom I forwarded it, and their reply shortly followed saying that I might have the use of their window. This was all I wanted, for I knew that once the Map was placed there, it could be counted on to do its work without further attention. The Delegates would glance at the Map as they passed by, a picture of tariff-ridden Europe would be printed on their mind, and the effect produced by one minute's inspection would be as striking and as lasting as what any of the usual methods could bring about in one month. If it be thought that I have made

too much of this site-getting, not only in this instance but elsewhere, I can only reply that if the Map itself was half the battle, a good site was certainly the other half.

When I got out to Geneva for the Tenth Meeting of the Assembly, I found there an atmosphere very favourable to this simple kind of propaganda. Herr Stresemann, the Prime Minister of Germany, had on one or two public occasions discussed the question of the lowering of barriers, and it was rightly expected that he would refer to this subject when he addressed the Assembly. M. Briand, whose authority and personal prestige at Geneva are unrivalled, had gone further than this, and had put forward the idea of some form of United States of Europe, united in the economic rather than in the political sense. Both of these policies, though merely adumbrated in a purposely vague manner, were navigating a parallel course, and both of them were very appropriate to the implications of the Map. Those Delegates who happened to pause in front of Messrs. Berliet's windows would see before them a visualization of the two chief policies fashionable at the moment, and this fleeting inspection would no doubt be

retained by them in the Assembly Hall and help to illuminate the speeches on these questions to which they would be listening. So the Map undoubtedly would be exerting an influence, subconsciously perhaps, and it justified all the trouble taken to secure its favourable position. M. Hymans, the Belgian Foreign Minister, who had acted as President at the First Meeting of the Assembly ten years ago, was one of the early speakers in the general discussion, and quickly got on to the general economic situation as far as Europe was concerned. They could all see, he continued, in an establishment close to the Assembly Hall an impressive Map which delineated clearly and ominously the tariff tendencies of the present day, where each European country had seen fit to surround itself with a wall in order to keep out its neighbours' goods, and which made the realization of freer trade as advocated in the 1927 Conference more difficult and distant.

The English Delegates to this year's Conference could listen to this debate with an easy conscience, seeing how low in comparison stood the wall round Great Britain, but it was rumoured in the Lobbies that Mr. Graham, when he came to speak, would

put forward some practical suggestions, and it is not surprising therefore that the Assembly Hall rapidly filled when it was announced that the British Delegate was on his feet. Mr. Graham addressed the Assembly in the effortless way in which he speaks in the House of Commons, without the use of notes, and quickly came to the proposal he wished to put forward. This turned out to be a truce or tariff holiday for two years, during which time the whole situation could be examined afresh by the respective Governments meeting in conference. The suggestion, which, of course, in Mr. Graham's proposal refers to the whole world and not merely, like mine, to Europe, was well received at the time, though it would have to run the gauntlet of closer examination in Committee. Mr. Graham's proposal was for two years, but I doubt if that would give sufficient time to allow of anything practical being done, and that is why I made the suggestion of a three-year holiday. It is not an important point, because the two-year period could always be extended, but I notice in this connexion that the Rapporteur of the Second Committee, to which economic matters are referred for discussion, made some remarks on Mr. Graham's proposal, and

was reported in the *Journal Officiel* as saying:

"M. Hymans had suggested that countries should come to a general agreement to limit their Customs tariffs. He thought, however, that the proposal from Mr. Graham, suggesting a truce for a period of two years, presented certain practical difficulties. It would be necessary to provide for a period of at least three years."

Anyhow, the whole question has at last entered the sphere of practical politics, and we can wait with patience to see what comes of it. Great Britain surely stands to gain or, if you prefer it, not to lose. Tariffs are rising on the Continent, thus making it more difficult for England to export to European countries, and harder for her working-class population engaged in that branch of the export trade. It would be absurd to pretend that there is any likelihood, with the present political complexion of parties, that this country will want to raise her tariffs or impose fresh ones, certainly within the next two or three years.

It would be something gained, therefore, if her competitors at least called a halt,

even if they cannot be induced to lower their walls. In fact, if one ignores for the moment the whole theoretical side of the tariff question, a tariff holiday just now might almost be described as heads we win, tails they lose.

CHAPTER XVIII

CONCLUSION

I HAVE now come to the end of my book, perhaps to the end of my crusade. I should like to see the various European Governments interesting their own nationals in these vital questions, not by holding an unending series of expensive conferences, but by this simple and inexpensive method of showing the problem on a map. Each country has its own idea as to the height of its own wall —a low one, of course—and very decided views as to the height of its neighbours'! Very well, let each country construct its map according to its own idea. That each one was different would be of no great moment, so long as some sort of scale in which they believed was the outcome, for the scale does not produce the effect, but the map giving a bird's-eye view. Nothing would then be easier than to assemble together all these different maps, and hammer out some sort of average that could be accepted as showing a fair and approximate

accuracy. A subsequent conference would then have something really definite to go on, which the Delegates certainly never have now when they come together; this may account for the barrenness too often of the results. If one map circulating about Europe can have such an educative influence, I can imagine what dozens in each country might do.

Though the idea of some improvement in our unemployment problem, if these tariffs in Europe could be got lower, has ever been present in my mind, I have nevertheless purposely refrained from overstressing in this book the heavier and more difficult features underlying my campaign and its economic implications. I was warned if I wished to be read to keep on a lighter plane, and above all to avoid penning an economic treatise which had often been done before, done very well, and would be done again. Stick chiefly to your own adventures, which are sufficiently interesting in themselves, if you can manage to get them on to paper, to be of interest to others, I was told. Whether my friend's advice was sound, and whether I have succeeded in carrying it out or not, it is not for me to say, but let it not be thought, because I have not enlarged on the

tremendous economic difficulties with which post-War Europe is faced to-day, that I have not been made fully conscious that they are there. Unfortunately, there is no quick or spectacular remedy for what is so terribly obvious. It is the dull virtues that are going to count now, for they are the only ones that can really help—work, efficiency, courage, patience. Many people, not only here but in other countries, are having a really difficult time, and are consequently too apt to listen to those who would exploit their depressing outlook. Any improvement must, above everything, be able to count on the use of one factor, and that factor is Time. If responsible statesmen by instilling the virtue of patience and compelling their compatriots to listen can gain sufficient time to work out their ameliorative measures, all will still be well, and the heavy weight of these post-War years will come to be as completely forgotten as are the trials of the post-Napoleonic period. There is, however, always lurking the danger that under economic pressure this patience might drift into despair, when the outlook would indeed become black.

With counsel and advice so freely offered, with so many doctors ready to prescribe, it

may be asked, Whom are we to trust, on whose advice can we lean ? I could produce here on both sides of the tariff question a great deal of what I have heard or read during these last three and a half years, but I am convinced that I should have to come back at the end of the journey to the Bankers and to the world's economic experts in conference at Geneva, for I can think of no higher authority, or of no counsel more disinterested than that put forward by both of these bodies. It is in combination with their forces, though perhaps unnoticed on their flank, that I have been endeavouring as a free-lance to carry on a campaign against these European tariff walls, and if I am met with the taunt, " Your efforts have been useless. You have accomplished nothing," at least I can reply that there was no harm trying. And anyhow, one never can tell.

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